

THE LIFE AND LETTERS
OF
JOHN PAUL JONES



JOHN PAUL JONES.

FROM THE HINCKLEY MINIATURE
IN THE POSSESSION OF MR. CHARLES A. MUNN
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REPRODUCED IN COLORS
FOR THE FIRST TIME.

THE LIFE AND LETTERS
OF
JOHN PAUL JONES

BY
MRS. REGINALD DE KOVEN

ILLUSTRATED

VOLUME II

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JOHN PAUL JONES

VOLUME II

CHAPTER XV

THE TEXEL

THE audacity and astonishing success of Jones's second attack upon the coasts and commerce of England aroused a fury of rage and surprise throughout the kingdom, which expressed itself in numberless protests against the dilatory methods of the court and the admiralty. The indignation of the people was fully justified, for ample warning had been given of the presence of their dreaded enemy from the first moment of his appearance upon their coasts. The deserters in the barge all found their way to Tralee on August the 27th, whither Cutting Lunt with his men had followed and where the latter were arrested and cast into jail.

Expresses from this place were sent without delay to the government authorities at Dublin and Cork, but no action was taken until September 21, when the warship *Ulysses* and three Liverpool privateers were despatched on what proved to be a futile search for the hostile squadron.

When Jones appeared off Limerick, early in September, at the time when he intended to intercept the fleet of East Indiamen off the west coast of Ireland, the squadron was distinctly seen and recognized, and expresses sent instantly to London.¹

¹ A letter dated the 10th of September from a lady in Limerick was published a few days later in the new *Daily Advertizer*. "About the 3rd.

After Jones's attempt upon Leith, the whole country about that city and Edinburgh was thrown into the wildest panic; the tardy attempts to fortify the town and to arm the inhabitants which followed the descent upon Whitehaven were again repeated, cannon being mounted at every seaport, and armed companies of volunteers and regulars patrolling the streets, and keeping their useless vigil after the pirate had sailed away.¹

After the battle with the *Serapis*, fought within sight of their shores, the British press was filled with accounts of the engagement. Letters from Bridlington, from Scarborough, from Sunderland, from Hull, were sent off post-haste to London, causing the utmost anger and alarm. From Castle Howard, where Byron's uncle, the Earl of Carlisle, had been a near witness of the battle, came the important information that his countess had been prevented from taking her usual sea bath, together with the encouraging news that the Marquis of Rockingham had himself taken charge at Scarborough,

instant Paul Jones appeared off the coast of Kerry; the Mayor was called from the playhouse, expresses were forwarded, sleep was banished from their eyes, and fear the only guest admitted to their hearts. Every face was as long as my arm and as white as the wall. We already smelt the fire of the burning city and felt the wicked embraces of Paul Jones and his merciless crew. Those that had money hid it; those that had not had less trouble."

¹ Sir Walter Scott has left an account of his boyish recollection of the terror which paralyzed the country at the mention of the hated name of Paul Jones. In a letter to Miss Edgeworth of February 24, 1824, he states that he was nine years old in 1779, and well recollected the marauding crews of Paul Jones. He remarks also upon the extraordinary change in the military state of Edinburgh which took place after Jones's appearance. Originally furnished with only three companies of men under arms, the city immediately after was capable of raising five thousand with complete appointments, cavalry, artillery, and "infantry enough to have taken Paul Jones and his whole equipage."

calling out the militia and putting the town into a condition of defence. An eye-witness, who reported details of the splendid scene of the engagement, of which he enjoyed a perfect view from his casement, demanded the instant support of the government and the capture of the hated invader.

From Sunderland, with a statement of the force of Jones's squadron, came wise reflections in a local journal upon the news communicated by the seven English prisoners who made their escape after the battle. "What an example of honor and greatness does America not show us! While our troops are running about from town to town on their coasts and burning everything with a wanton, wicked barbarity, Dr. Franklin gives no orders to retaliate. He is above it, and there was a time when an English Minister was above it. When an English Minister would have disdained to make war in so villainous a mode. It is a disgrace to the Nations. Paul Jones could have burned Leith the other day with the greatest of ease, and another little town near it."

In the *Public Advertizer* of Tuesday, October 5, another indignant Englishman, after censuring Lord Sandwich, George Germaine, and Lord North for their conduct of the war, expressed his indignation at the ministry for their base and ignominious behavior to Hull. "A little American squadron captures a man of war and a stout armed ship. He alarms the whole northeast coast; the town of Hull unguarded and defenceless implores from the Minister the protection of government. Our ministers stare at one another in a simple astonishment, in a stupid infatuated ignorance.

They found themselves bewildered and devoid of all counsel, foreseeing no danger and frightened at every alarm, they flatly give the wretched inhabitants up to despair."

Already the bugbear of the northern coasts of England since his attack upon Whitehaven, the name of Paul Jones now became a terror to the entire country, and a red rag to the admiralty. What the great fleets of France and Spain had failed to accomplish had now been brought about by this one man with his unruly colleagues and his unseaworthy ship. At last the dilatory ministry was aroused to action. The commander of the seventy-four-gun ship *Edgar*, which had been sent off to Scarborough on the day after the battle, having reported that Jones had escaped, a meeting was called at the admiralty, presided over by the infamous Lord Sandwich, when all sorts of resolutions were passed. Within two hours of the conference expresses were despatched to order an overwhelming force of warships to go out in search of this one man whom all England now feared. Captain Burnett with one squadron and Captain Saxon with another were sent out in haste to the north and east, and on the 29th another squadron, composed of eight of the largest warships, was despatched on the same errand.

As to the character of this native-born Scotchman who had dared to attack and to put Great Britain to shame, no epithet was lurid enough to describe him. From one end of the country to the other—in the press, in private communications, in the grave pages of history—this one citizen of the revolted colonies was

made the object of obloquy and scorn. In Hume and Smollett's history the English public was informed that Paul Jones was a rebel who had forfeited his life to his country's laws. Among the numberless contemporary reports which are found in the English journals, one writer alone, in the *British and Foreign Review*, thus speaks in his defence: "The *Richard* was fought with consummate skill and heroism. We pay no attention to all that has been penned about Paul Jones being a pirate, a rebel, and a traitor. He settled early in Virginia, and therefore can mercifully be considered an American citizen who adopted the sentiments of Washington. His bearing and success have excited a strong prejudice in England which has not been supplanted by a just estimate of his character."

The dissatisfaction with the government as represented by the venial ministers of George III was loudly expressed in Parliament, Lord Effingham declaring the absurdity of any longer considering the colonists as rebels, in view of the fact that American captives had already been exchanged as prisoners of war. But these intelligent protests were lost in the general clamor, and in the public imagination, inflamed by prejudice and anger, the title of desperado and renegade was fixed forever upon the name of Paul Jones.

In London a hastily prepared print of the notorious invader sold to the extent of eight thousand copies in less than a week, while in clubs and chop-houses bets were laid two to one that he would make port in spite of all the ships which were sent out to catch him. Bitter taunts and invectives were hurled at the head

of the lord of the admiralty. "For God's sake, get to sea immediately," wrote the disgraced Sandwich to one of his admirals. "If you take Paul Jones you will be as high in the estimation of the publick as if you had beat the combined fleets. The whole of this business depends on dispatch, therefore not a moment is to be lost in consideration."¹

While the various squadrons were scouring the sea after Jones in the disabled *Serapis*, he had slipped away under cover of the fog, and after tossing about in a choppy sea against contrary winds, arrived safely at the Texel on October the 3d. His first and wise intention was to make for the French port of Dunkirk, believing that he could there better negotiate the exchange of his five hundred prisoners than in the port of Holland; but his colleagues, aware through M. de Chaumont's indiscretion of the original destination of the cruise, sailed away without orders due east for the Texel, whither, in concern for the safety of the prisoners on board the *Pallas*, Jones was forced to follow. On the very day

¹ An extract from the diary of Mercy Argenteau gives an idea of the satisfaction prevailing at the French court at the victory gained over the hated English, and his own very clear idea of the methods of the French cabinet:

"In the same month of September the Scottish Buccaneer Paul Jones attacked Scotland. The endless procrastinations and futilities that marked every step of the hostilities against England, disgusted Paul Jones with his French allies, and while they wrangled over points of precedence he acted.

"He appeared off the east coast of Scotland with an armed brigantine and three small ships of war and through good seamanship and reckless courage, made a brilliant appearance on that theatre of war, whose spectators watched the scene from Flamborough Head—Then while his name was still on every tongue he reappeared this time off the Firth of Forth, and Edinburg awaited disaster and humiliation, until the rising of a strong west wind blew his ships out of the Firth."

of his arrival he prepared the official report of the cruise, which was duly despatched to Paris by Colonel de Chamillard. In this account, fortified undoubtedly by his extraordinary success, Jones expressed himself clearly in regard to the restrictions which the concordat had placed upon him and very definitely informed Sartine and Franklin of the conditions under which he would consent to conduct future expeditions.

I am in the highest degree sensible of the singular attentions which I experienced from the Court of France, which I shall remember with perfect gratitude until the end of my life, and will always endeavor to merit while I can consistent with my honor remain in the public service. I must speak plainly; as I have always been honored with the full confidence of Congress and as I also flatter myself, with enjoying in some measure the confidence of the Court of France, I could not but be astonished at the conduct of M. de Chaumont, when at the moment of my departure from Groix he produced a paper, a concordat,¹ for me to sign in common with the officers whom I had commissioned a few days before. Had this paper been proposed to me at the beginning, I should have rejected it with just contempt. I cannot however, even now suppose that he was authorized by the Court to make such a bargain with me, nor can I suppose that the Minister of the Marine meant that M. de Chaumont should consider me merely as a colleague with the commanders of the other ships, and communicate to them not only all he knew, but all he thought respecting our destination and operations. In short, while my life remains, if I have any capacity to render good and acceptable service to the common cause, no man will step forth with greater

¹ Appendix E.

cheerfulness and alacrity than myself; but I am not made to be dishonored, nor can I accept the half confidence of any man living. Of course I cannot, consistent with my honor and the prospect of success, undertake future expeditions unless when the object and destination is communicated to me alone, and to no other person in the marine line. On no other condition will I ever undertake the chief command of a private expedition, and when I do not command in chief, I have no desire to be in the secret.

This demand was not only amply justified by the insubordination of his squadron, resulting from the extraordinary restrictions of the concordat, but also by the fact that the incorrigible imprudence of the author of that paper had brought about the publication in the journals of Holland of definite information in regard to the new orders which were awaiting Jones upon his arrival at the Texel. These orders were communicated to him by M. Dumas, the Congressional agent, who came up from The Hague to deliver them in person. They revealed the several reasons which had determined Sartine and Franklin in their choice of a Dutch port as the termination of the cruise. The first and ostensible object, divulged by Chaumont and instantly communicated by the English ambassador to his court, was for Jones to convoy from the Texel a hundred vessels laden with military supplies, which were destined for the disabled French fleet at Brest. The frustration of this object deprived the French King and his ministers of their last hope of redeeming the disgraceful failure of the expedition of the combined fleets against England.

The second object was to gain the long-promised possession of the *Indien*, and the third and most important, to Franklin's sagacious and far-seeing mind, was the opportunity offered by the presence of the American squadron in the Texel of forcing the Dutch Government openly to take sides with the colonies. This exceedingly delicate and dangerous undertaking, although undoubtedly conceived by Franklin, was left to the execution of Paul Jones. The "best fighting instrument" of America in Europe, Jones was now to be used as an agent to deal with the most serious diplomatic complications. It is not too much to assert that he justified Franklin's confidence in the new rôle which had been assigned to him as brilliantly as he had succeeded in the first. His conduct of affairs in Holland merits the highest praise and is marred by no act of imprudence or self-assertion.

The moderation and independence of the ultimatum which concluded his official report must have made a convincing impression upon Franklin, as well as his representations in regard to Landais, of whom he wrote that he "forbore to take any steps until he had his Excellency's advice and approbation," although of the opinion that "either Captain Landais or himself was highly criminal, and one or the other should be punished."

Although he had also expressed dissatisfaction with Chaumont in the official report, he wrote with great frankness to Chaumont himself, on his arrival at the Texel, referring him to the strictures which he had made in regard to his conduct in his official report,

and asking for an explanation of his reasons for forcing the concordat upon him.

I wish to act a candid part towards all men, and therefore wish you to see a copy of that letter, that you may see my sentiments respecting the concordat which you imposed upon me at the moment of my departure from Groix. What could have inspired you with such sentiments of distrust towards me after the ocular proofs of hospitality which I long experienced in your house, and after the warm expression of generous and unbounded friendship which I had constantly been honored with in letters, exceeds my mental faculties to comprehend. I am however, yet willing to give you the opportunity of rendering justice to my character. I cannot think you are personally my enemy. I rather imagine your conduct towards me at L'Orient as arising from base misrepresentations of some secret villainy.

A few days later, in response to an affectionate letter from Chaumont's young son, Jones wrote a kindly reply, and to Madame de Chaumont, who confessed that the "concordat was a conjuring book to her," he wrote also with repeated expressions of his loyalty and affection, leaving nothing undone to effect a reconciliation with the beloved family.

It was certainly to be regretted that one of America's warmest friends, who had provided her representatives with an embassy in France, and had actually advanced the cost of the purchase and equipment of the ships of Jones's squadron out of his own pocket, should at the same time have been capable of so many grave acts of indiscretion. Jones's irritation, arising from his bitter

disappointment at the prevention of his joint expedition with Lafayette, and again from the intolerable conditions of the concordat, cannot be wondered at, but M. de Chaumont, as seen by the following enthusiastic and essentially Gallic epistle sent to Jones on the 11th of October, was entirely unconvinced of his errors or of any attitude toward Jones himself of which the latter could properly complain:

MY DEAR COMMODORE:

M. de Chamillard has given me the letter with which you have honored me. All the gazettes of England, since your first appearance on the Irish coasts, have announced your exploits. Certain letters made us hope that you had captured most of the ships of the convoy. If your famous battle had not taken place so near to the enemies' shores, I believe indeed that very few of them would have escaped. But destiny ordered otherwise, and we can only rejoice that you made your escape from a superior enemy, and indeed that you were able to escape at all. This action which will immortalize you, made you immortal even during the battle, when all perished about you while you remained invulnerable. It must be confessed that the English captain did his best to save his convoy, having so good a chance on account of being near the fort. M. de Chamillard made the hair rise from our heads when he drew us the picture of the fire which in turn devoured both vessels, which you had bound together to serve for your own triumphal bridge. What regrets would have been ours if the flames had blown up both the victor and the vanquished!

Never mention my past hospitality nor the pains I have taken for the one object of furthering your designs. I have been more than paid by the pleasure

your expedition has afforded me, in the long draughts of delight which you have given me to drink. It is true that there is no happiness equal to that of receiving from the hands of a friend the means to serve ones country. Like the kiss of an adored mistress, it enkindles the heart—no servant of a court could know such delights! His insatiable ambition would value the pains taken to satisfy it only in proportion to their importance, but a young hero like you, defending the cause of dear liberty, founded on that sweet equality which makes us all comrades, adores the friend who brings him the means with which he makes his flight to Victory. Enjoy it long, my dear Commodore, with your dear companions.

Sad to relate, the author of this dithyramb, indignant at complaints whose justice he was either unable or unwilling to admit, failed to furnish Jones with the reasons which had inspired his action in forcing the concordat upon him, omitting to reply to a second and entirely reasonable letter from Jones, and taking the attitude that the latter was simply ungrateful. He went so far in his openly avowed hostility as to repeat the criticism of Cottineau, contained in Jones's official report in regard to the former's refusal to assist him in making further attacks upon the English coasts, in a letter to Cottineau himself. This elicited a furious letter from that excellent if somewhat too prudent officer, seriously disturbing the good relations which existed between himself and his commander.

Although Jones was aware of the dangers which he would be forced to encounter in convoying the supply ships to Brest in view of the British ambassador's

knowledge of the plans, he was still ready to make the attempt. On the 5th of October he wrote as follows to the French ambassador at The Hague, stating the preliminary necessity of refitting his ships and urging the immediate care and exchange of his prisoners:

HIS EXCELLENCY THE DUKE DE LA VAUGUYON,
Ambassador of France, at the Hague,

My Lord,

I am but this moment arrived here, otherwise I should have sent you a more early account of my late expedition. I now enclose herewith a copy of the account which I have forwarded by express to his excellency the Minister of the Marine at court. As we have on board the different vessels here, I believe (for I have not yet been able to procure an exact return) three hundred and fifty prisoners, and of that number I suppose an hundred and thirty wounded, I would esteem it a particular favor to have your opinion on the measures that are most expedient to be adopted in that respect. Whether it would be proper to set them at liberty here, upon such security as may be obtained, that the English government will immediately expedite an equal number of Americans to France? Unless such security as may be fully depended upon can be obtained, I think these prisoners must be sent immediately for Dunkirk. We are now preparing the *Countess of Scarborough* and the *Vengeance* to transport them to France, in case it should be necessary. The *Countess of Scarborough* not being fit for war, can remain in France, while the *Vengeance* brings back all our people, and as many more as can be obtained to replace the great number that I have lost out of the crew of the *Bon Homme Richard*, in killed and wounded, not less I suppose than one hundred and fifty men.

I have had the honor to receive by the hand of our agent Mr. Dumas, such orders from his Excellency Dr. Franklin as it will be impossible for me to fulfill unless I meet with great and immediate assistance to enable me to depart before the end of the month. The *Serapis* must be entirely new masted and rigged; nothing being left above deck that is capable of sustaining a passage of any length in the approaching season. She wants also sails, rigging, boats and provision. The hull, though considerably damaged, may easily be repaired.

As soon as I have made some necessary arrangements here, I mean to do myself the honor of paying your Excellency my personal respects, and to receive your orders at the Hague. In the meantime I beseech you to favor me with a line respecting the prisoners of war, and the treatment that they ought to receive in point of provision and otherwise.

I have the honor to be, with profound respect &c.

On the 6th, in company with M. Dumas, who immediately became an enthusiastic friend of the hero of the day, Jones journeyed to The Hague in response to a summons from the French ambassador, for the purpose of consultations on the subjects of Jones's letter. He was received most favorably by the duke, who from the outset of his association with Jones showed the most earnest desire to assist him in any way in his power. He was immediately besieged by invitations from many who wished to entertain the victorious commander, but he was too anxious to secure the safety of his prisoners and to proceed with the refitting of his squadron to yield to their importunities, and wrote that "duty must take precedence of pleasure, and that

he must await a more favorable opportunity to kiss the hands of the fair."

After a single day's stop at the Dutch capital he proceeded to Amsterdam to expedite the transportation of the necessary supplies of his ships from the Continental agents, M. de Neuville and Son. And now at last he was to reap the reward of his efforts and to taste that intoxicating draught of glory for which he had so long thirsted. In Amsterdam, he became the object of universal attention. The fame of his exploits had preceded him and he was followed by curious and applauding throngs. Songs in his honor were sung in the streets, and verses composed to celebrate his triumph appeared in the public prints. Visiting the Exchange, in company with M. Jean de Neuville, all business was interrupted; he modestly withdrew to a coffee-room, whence he was summoned to a balcony facing the street to bow his acknowledgment to the assembled crowds. "He withdrew to a room facing the square," so a writer for the *London Chronicle* relates, "when M. de Neuville and the Americans present paid him such a volley of compliments as he could only answer with a bow. He is of middling stature, and a swarthy complexion. He was dressed in the American uniform, with a Scotch bonnet edged with gold."

Another report, published in the *London Evening Post* of October 12, informs the enraged English public that "the object of their hatred is by no means the ferocious criminal of their hated fancy, but a very different man from what he is represented; good sense, a

genteel address, and a very good though small person."

An amusing incident terminated the public ovation on the Exchange, when the owner of the *Verwagting*, little able to realize that the previous capture of his vessel by the English had rendered it a lawful prize to Jones's squadron, rushed up to him and in voluble and excited Dutch demanded a return of his "stolen property."

In a letter to Franklin, written on the following day, the effect of this first taste of his fame is agreeably evident. He modestly refers to his reception in Amsterdam, the detailed account of which he leaves to others, but in referring to a suggestion of the French ambassador that he should be employed in executing services under the French flag, he writes:

Whatever you may find consonant with the good of the common cause, and with the high respect that I shall ever entertain for Freedom's Flag, will always meet with my earnest and full attention, and especially when in pursuit of the object for which Congress saw fit to send me to France. But I can accept of no honor that will call in question my devotion to America.

He was not permitted to remain long in Amsterdam, for letters from Cottineau, who had fallen seriously ill and who had delegated the command of the *Serapis* to a lieutenant, now implored his immediate return to the Texel. After less than a week of triumph at Amsterdam, Jones therefore returned to the *Serapis*, where he remained strictly on guard, going ashore only at night to pay a visit to Cottineau's bedside. He was by this

time in a state of the greatest anxiety in regard to both his prisoners and prizes, and awaited the results of the French ambassador's representations to the Dutch Government with the utmost impatience. He had already made the proper request through the commander at the Roads of the Texel, M. Riemersma, for permission to land his wounded, but relied upon the aid of the French ambassador to insure a favorable reply from the higher authorities. Overruled by his colleagues in his desire to anchor in the friendly port of Dunkirk, he was now facing a situation of the utmost doubt and danger, in consequence of the uncertain attitude of the Dutch Republic in regard to the American colonies. In spite of the lately arranged treaties between the governments of Holland and England, the hatred of the Dutch people for their ancient enemy was unabated. That Jones himself was exceedingly popular in Holland was evidenced by the demonstrations in Amsterdam and by the enthusiasm of the crowds of people who followed his steps whenever he appeared in the streets.¹

Two strongly opposed parties existed in Holland, the Democratic or people's party, which warmly favored Jones and sympathized with the American colonists, and the English or Court party, led by the Prince of

¹ The following letter from Captain O'Connell, of the United States marines, who considered himself "too old" to serve under Chamillard, and had therefore left the squadron, gives an idea of Jones's popularity throughout Holland:

"ROTTERDAM. *December 17th.*

"MY DEAR COMMODORE.

"I am sincerely sorry I could not have the happiness of seeing you before setting off from the Helder. Believe me Sir, that if I had the honor of being embarked with you, I would not quitt you before the campaign was decided one way or another. If I have no other advan-

Orange, which still by a very small majority controlled the States-General. But the sympathy of the Dutch people as a nation had already expressed itself in various important ways. As early as 1776 Joshua Barney and Isaac Robinson, in the little *Andrea Doria*, of the first colonial fleet, had sailed up to the Dutch island of Saint Eustatia, in the West Indies, to pick up a deposit of military supplies, and had saluted the governor, De Graaf, who on his own authority had not hesitated to return the salute. A secret treaty of commercial alliance, negotiated by the American minister to Holland, Mr. Henry Laurens, in the year 1780, a copy of which was unfortunately recovered from the water when Laurens was captured, showed the persistent determination of Holland to aid the cause of America. This determination had been early recognized by Beaumarchais, who had established *depôts* of supplies in Holland for transportation to America at the beginning of the Revolution. In the year 1779 no open acknowledgment of the independence of the colonies had yet been decided upon by the government, which was still officially bound by the treaties with England. The neutrality of the Dutch Government had been taken advantage of to so large an extent by the several

tage by the cruize I have made, I am amply recompensed by being conducted by crowds of all ranks through the streets in every town I come to in this country. and I cant dissuade them but I am the brave Paul Jones but will absolutely persist in their opinion. notwithstanding all the proofs I can alledge to the contrary. when I show them my passport, they tell me I make use of a fictitious name. so that I suppose they will make me believe at last I am you. If in case you should come into France to arm for the next year and that you should have occasion for one in my way I beg you may let me know, and you may depend I will join you on sight."

European powers during the wars which had preceded the conflict between England and her colonies that the States-General had been compelled to issue a placard defining in very strict terms the privileges of their ports. This placard, promulgated in 1756, provided that no vessels belonging to any other nation should be accorded a refuge in the seaports of Holland except in case of storm or disaster. No privilege of prolonged stay was permitted, no cargoes could be sold, and no prizes disposed of. Jones was fully aware of these restrictions when he made his application to Captain Riemersma for permission to land and care for his prisoners, and for this reason had invoked the assistance of Vauguyon to procure concessions from the government. On the 8th of October, in consequence of a report from the Dutch commander in the Texel, the college of admiralty at Amsterdam announced the arrival of Jones and his squadron in the Texel to the States-General, informing their high mightinesses that they had carried out the provisions of the placard and had refused Jones's request to land his prisoners, warning him at the same time against unloading his cargo or advancing any farther into the roadstead than was necessary for protection.

Meanwhile the English ambassador, Sir Joseph Yorke, had been exceedingly active. This able minister had brought about the rebuke of the governor of Saint Eustatia Island for his unauthorized recognition of the rebel American flag, and now left no stone unturned to force the Dutch Parliament to hostilities against Paul Jones the "pirate," the detested and too

successful enemy of his country. On the 9th of October he addressed the following peremptory memorial to the States-General, demanding the surrender of the officers, crews, and prizes of the American squadron:

HIGH AND MIGHTY LORDS.

The undersigned ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the King of Great Britain, has the honour to communicate to your high mightinesses that two of his majesty's ships, the *Serapis* and the *Countess of Scarborough* arrived some days ago in the Texel, having been attacked and taken by force by a certain Paul Jones a subject of the King, who according to all treaties and the laws of war can only be considered as a rebel and a pirate. The undersigned is therefore in duty bound to recur to your high mightinesses and demand their immediate orders that those ships with their officers and crews may be stopped and especially recommends to your humanity to permit the wounded to be brought on shore that proper attention may be paid to them at the expense of the King his master.

YORKE.

The States-General, before replying to Yorke's memorial, asked the advice of the college of admiralty at Amsterdam, who replied on the 12th that the placard did not permit of their surrendering Jones's prizes at the demand of the British ambassador, but that they strongly advised, in the interest of humanity, that the prisoners should be landed and properly cared for. Following this opinion, which definitely left the prisoners to the care of Jones, and furthermore definitely took an attitude of neutrality in regard to the squadron, the States-General resolved on the 15th that Captain Rie-

mersma should be authorized to grant permission to Captain Jones to land his wounded prisoners, and that the necessary supplies should be furnished by the Dutch ships then lying in the road of the Texel. On the 21st, after further deliberation, the States-General finally sent a reply to the impatient British ambassador, declaring that they were unable to pass upon the legality of the person and prizes of Paul Jones, but that in accordance with the terms of the placard he should be urged to depart from the Texel as soon as possible; and with this very small comfort Yorke was forced for the moment to be content.

The fact that the English ambassador had demanded action far beyond the terms of the placard unquestionably influenced the favorable attitude of the States-General toward the American squadron, as well as the efforts of the French ambassador, whose warm and persuasive eloquence in his behalf received Jones's enthusiastic thanks.

The welcome news of this resolution was communicated to Jones by Dumas, and after a few days' further negotiation in regard to the place where his wounded should be quartered, he received formal permission to place them in the fort of the Texel. Jones thereupon appointed Colonel Weibert governor-general at the fort, directing that the wounded should be treated with "all possible tenderness and humanity."

Jones's first communication to Captain Riemersma had included a request to land the English captains Pearson and Piercy, but pending the answer of the States-General they were both kept in confinement on

board the *Pallas*, whence came on the 19th the following very surly letter from the captain of the *Serapis*:

PALLAS, Tuesday Evening.
October the 19, 1779.

CAPTAIN JONES, *Serapis*.

Captain Pearson presents his compliments to Captain Jones and is sorry to find himself so little attended to in his present situation, as not to have been favored with either a call or a line from Captain Jones since his return from Amsterdam. Captain Pearson is sorry to say that he cannot look upon such behavior in any other light than as a breach of that civility which his rank as well as his behavior on all occasions entitles him to. He at the same time wishes to know whether any steps have been taken towards the enlargement or exchange of him, his officers and people, or what is intended to be done with them. As he cannot help thinking it a very unprecedented circumstance their being kept here as prisoners on board of ship, being so long in a neutral port.

Jones replied to this letter as follows:

SERAPIS, Wednesday, October
20th, 1779.

CAPTAIN PEARSON,
Sir:—

As you have not been prevented from corresponding with your friends, and particularly with the English Ambassador at the Hague, I could not suppose you to be unacquainted with his memorial of the 8th. to the States General, and therefore I thought it fruitless to pursue the negotiations for the exchange of the prisoners of war, now in our hands.

I wished to avoid any painful altercation with you on that subject; I was persuaded that you had been in

the highest degree sensible that my behaviour towards you had been far from "a breach of civility." This charge is not, Sir, a civil return for the polite hospitality, and disinterested attentions which you have hitherto experienced.

I know not what difference of respect is due to "rank" between your service and ours; I suppose, however, the difference must be thought very great in England, since I am informed that Captain Cunningham, of equal denomination, and who bears a senior rank in the service of America, than yours in the service of England, is now confined at Plymouth in a dungeon and in fetters.

Humanity which has hitherto superceded the plea of retaliation in American breasts, has induced me (notwithstanding the procedure of Sir Joseph Yorke) to seek after permission to land the dangerously wounded, as well prisoners as Americans, to be supported and cured at the expense of our Continent. The permission of the Government has been obtained, but the magistrates continue to make objections. I shall not discontinue my application. I am ready to adopt any means that you may propose for their preservation and recovery, and, in the meantime, we shall continue to treat them with the utmost care and attention, equally, as you know, to the treatment of our people of the same rank.

As it is possible that you have not yet seen the memorial of your ambassador to the States General, I enclose a paper which contains a copy, and I believe he has since written what, in the opinion of good men, will do still less honor to his pen.

I cannot conclude without informing you that, unless Captain Cunningham is immediately better treated in England, I expect orders in consequence from his Excellency, Dr. Franklin; therefore, I beseech you, Sir, to interfere.

I am, Sir, etc.

Captain Pearson's bravery, which was fully acknowledged by Jones, was not enhanced by his invariably discourteous attitude toward his victorious enemy. On his arrival at the Texel, Jones had ordered the plate, arms, and private effects belonging to Captain Pearson to be packed up and sent to him by his lieutenant, with his compliments. Pearson insolently replied that he would receive nothing from the hands of a rebel, intimating that if his property was offered to him by Captain Cottineau, who was the French King's subject, it would be accepted. With remarkable generosity Jones forbore to resent this affront, and sent the plate in the manner which had been dictated by his prisoner. It was received without one word of thanks to the magnanimous victor. What stipulations Pearson made as to the return of his sword have not been recorded. Jones sent this also to him on his arrival at the Texel. A few days later Pearson wholly retreated from this attitude toward Jones, and retracted his assertion that he was a state criminal, in the service of an unrecognized and rebellious power, by agreeing to a convention, signed by both Jones and himself, by which the English prisoners were to be exchanged on equal terms with a like number of American prisoners of war.¹

¹ Agreement between Paul Jones and Captain Pearson:

"It is hereby agreed between John Paul Jones, captain in the American navy, commander of the Continental squadron, now in the road of Texel, and Richard Pearson, captain in the British Navy, late commodore of the British Baltic fleet, and now a prisoner of war to the United States of North America, as follows:

"First. Captain Jones freely consents, in behalf of the United States, to land on the island of Texel the dangerously wounded prisoners now in his hands, to be there supported and provided with good surgeons and medicines at the expense of the United States of America, and,

This convention was never forwarded to England, and was not accepted by the French court, but it was freely circulated in Holland as well as among the various embassies in Paris.

In a letter to his friend Bancroft Jones wrote that "In spite of that little thing, Sir Joseph Yorke, I am glad to be able to state that the American Flag is highly respected at the Texel."

A letter now arrived from Franklin which was the dearest to his heart of all the praise which was now showered upon him:

PASSY, *October 15th. 1779.*

DEAR SIR:—

I received the account of your cruize and engagement with the *Serapis*, which you did me the honor to send me from the Texel. I have since received your favor

agreeable to the permission which he has received from the States-General of Holland, to guard them with sentinel in the fort on the Texel, with liberty to remove them from thence at his free will and pleasure.

"Second. Captain Pearson engages, in behalf of the British Government, that all the British prisoners that may be landed as mentioned in the last article shall be considered afterwards as prisoners of war to the United States of America until they are exchanged, except only such as may in the meantime die of their wounds.

"Third. Captain Pearson further engages, in behalf of the British Government, that, should any of the British subjects now prisoners of war in the hands of Captain Jones desert or abscond, either from the fort on the Texel or otherwise, in consequence of the first article, an equal number of American prisoners shall be released and sent from England to France by the next cartel.

"Fourth. And Captain Jones engages, on the part of the United States, that if any of the prisoners who shall be landed should die while on shore in his custody in the fort, no exchange of them shall be claimed.

"Done on board the American frigate the *Pallas*, at anchor in the Texel, this 31st. day of October, 1779.

"R. PEARSON

"JOHN PAUL JONES."

of the 8th. from Amsterdam. For some days after the arrival of your express, scarce anything was talked of at Paris and Versailles but your cool conduct and persevering bravery during that terrible conflict. You may believe that the impression on my mind was not less strong than that of others, but I do not choose to say in a letter to yourself all I think on such an occasion.

The ministry are much dissatisfied with Captain Landais, and M. de Sartine has signified to me in writing that it is expected I should send for him to Paris, and call him to account for his conduct, particularly for deferring so long the coming to your assistance, by which means, it is supposed, the States lost more of their valuable citizens, and the King lost many of his subjects, volunteers in your ship, together with the ship itself.

I have accordingly written to him this day, acquainting him that he is charged with disobedience of orders in the cruize, and neglect of his duty in the engagement; that a court-martial being at this time inconvenient, if not impracticable, I would give him an earlier opportunity of offering what he has to say in his justification, and for that purpose direct him to render himself immediately here, bringing with him such papers or testimonies as he may think useful in his defence. I know not whether he will obey my orders nor what the ministry will do with him if he comes, but, I suspect, that they may by some of their concise operations save the trouble of a court martial. It will be well however for you to furnish me with what you may judge proper to support the charges against him, that I may be able to give a just and clear account of the affair to Congress.

In the meantime it will be necessary, if he should refuse to come, that you should put him under an arrest, and in that case as well as if he comes, that you

should either appoint some person to command his ship or take it upon yourself; for I know of no person to recommend to you as fit for that station.

I am uneasy about your prisoners, I wish they were safe in France. You will then have completed the glorious work of giving liberty to all the Americans that have so long languished for it in the British prisons; for there are not so many there as you have now taken.

I have the pleasure to inform you that the two prizes sent to Norway are safely arrived at Berghen.

With the highest esteem, I am &c.

B. FRANKLIN.

P.S.—I am sorry for your misunderstanding with M. de C. who has a great regard for you.

Little inclined, as he was, to extravagant phrases in writing to Jones himself, Franklin did not fail to express his appreciation of his brilliant victory and his qualities as a commander. In a report to the navy board at Boston he wrote that "Jones' bravery and conduct during the action, has gained him great honor." In a private letter he speaks of the "immense reputation" he has gained throughout Europe, and in another private communication he spoke affectionately of "our Commodore."

The more concise operations mentioned in Franklin's letter as likely to be used upon Landais hinted perhaps at the Bastille, or to an even more condign method of dealing with the offender. Although in the American service, Landais was actually a French subject and his life forfeit to the French Government. Jones had been repeatedly advised by the French officers of his squadron to put him under arrest immediately after

the engagement with the *Serapis*, but he refused on the ground that it would make him of "too much importance." Writing to M. de Chaumont, who, in sympathy with Sartine's indignation over the loss of life among the French marines, had advised that Landais should be summarily dealt with, Jones, taking a very high ground, replied that he "pitied Landais' narrow and jealous mind and that it must be his punishment to be informed, as he would be by His Excellency, Dr. Franklin, that he had always written in his favor." He recalled to M. de Chaumont's recollection that he had taken every means in his power to re-establish Landais in his command and to restore to him the confidence of his people, which, when he came to serve under his command, Landais had entirely lost. In submitting the proof of Landais's misconduct, according to Franklin's instruction, Jones proceeded, however, to procure full proof of the justice of his accusations and appealed to the whole squadron to support him. He was furnished with a formidable array of proof of Landais's treachery in the shape of twenty-five charges¹ signed by the respective officers of the several ships. It was first proved that Landais had purposely run afoul of the *Bon Homme Richard* in the Bay of Biscay. Then his open disrespect to the commander-in-chief, his refusal to obey signals, his desertion of the squadron, his cowardly refusal to join in the action except to fire upon his consort and the enemy indiscriminately, as well as his not attacking the flying ships of the Baltic fleet, and his refusal to come to the assist-

¹ Appendix G.

ance of the sinking *Bon Homme Richard*, formed the subject of the other accusations, which were signed by all the eye-witnesses of the occurrences. Cottineau reported that when the *Bon Homme Richard* appeared off Flamborough Head Landais distinctly said he would "run away if it were, as he supposed, an enemy's ship of more than fifty guns." Cottineau also repeated Landais's remark that he "thought it no harm if the *Richard* should sink as he could then take the *Serapis* himself." Landais was also reported to have confessed that he purposely used grape-shot in firing at long range at the stern and prow of the interlocked vessels "because he knew it would scatter." The chief officers of the *Alliance* itself bore witness to the ill-conduct of their commander. Cottineau made no secret of his statements in regard to his colleague and, enraged at his conduct, Landais challenged him to a duel, which was fought on the Helder Island, when Landais, who was an adept with the sword, succeeded in wounding his far worthier antagonist. In a dangerous state of excitement and defiance after this occurrence, the half-crazy Landais now "figured" boldly at public places, declaring that he was the real conqueror of the *Serapis*, and breathing vengeance against Jones, whom he announced that he intended to kill. A challenge was sent to Jones, but at this critical juncture Landais was called to account by a letter from Franklin, despatched on the 15th of October, in which he was peremptorily summoned to Paris to answer for his misdeeds.

Doctor Franklin reported to Landais Sartine's demand for his punishment, with the latter's assertion

that the great loss of life among the French marines was due to his failure to come to the assistance of the *Bon Homme Richard*. He assured Landais, however, that he should be treated with justice, and advised his bringing all possible proofs to establish his innocence. Landais received this document on the 20th of October, and on the 22d wrote humbly to Franklin, saying that he had waited, very naturally in vain, for testimony from Cottineau to aid him in establishing his innocence, but that now he had borrowed some money from M. de Neuville for the journey and would forthwith report for his examination in Paris.

By the 30th of October Jones had collected the signed testimonials of the officers and sent them to Bancroft to be delivered to Franklin.

In the last week of October and the first of November, during the apparent cessation of Yorke's importunities for the surrender of Jones and his prizes, the victor occupied the time in answering the many congratulatory epistles which he was now in receipt of from his admiring friends. Jonathan Williams, on his honeymoon, wrote in a jubilant mood:

You have been reaping laurels, my friend, and I have been plucking roses; but your occupation is much more glorious than mine, as the welfare of a community is more important than the happiness of an individual. I think, however, I have one advantage over you, for mine has not been the work of destruction, and I trust it will increase the species instead of diminishing them, and that you must allow is the cause of humanity! In short, I am a married man, and my wife will be happy to number you among her friends. I return to

Nantes from St. Germain tomorrow morning, and as soon as I arrive, I will write you on matters of business; at present I can think nothing of that kind.

Alas, poor *Richard*. We ought not, however, to regret so honorable an exit. Thank heaven, you are preserved, and may another poor Dick shine gloriously under your command. All Europe are praising you except England.

The prevailing opinions of the Dutch people in regard to the popular hero were expressed at this time in the letters of a certain distinguished sympathizer with the cause, the Baron Van der Capellen, who addressed Jones with the request for an account of his victory over the *Serapis*, desiring to have proofs of his personal character with which to refute the libels of the English. In response to his letter Jones sent a copy of his official report to Franklin, omitting the portion which contained his criticism of M. de Chaumont; together with the famous letter to Lady Selkirk.

ON BOARD THE "SERAPIS" AT THE TEXEL.

October 19, 1779.

MY LORD:

Human nature and America are under a very singular obligation to you for your patriotism and friendship, and I feel every grateful sentiment for your generous and polite letter.

Agreeable to your request I have the honor to enclose a copy of my letter to his Excellency Doctor Franklin, containing a particular account of my late expedition on the coasts of Britain and Ireland, by which you will see that I have already been praised far more than I deserved; but I must at the same time

beg leave to observe that by the other papers which I take the liberty to inclose (particularly the copy of my letter to the Countess of Selkirk dated the day of my arrival at Brest from the Irish Sea) I hope you will be convinced that in the British prints I have been censured unjustly. I was indeed, born in Britain, but I do not inherit the degenerate spirit of that fallen nation, which I at once lament and despise. It is far beneath me to reply to their hireling invectives. They are strangers to the inward approbation that greatly animates and rewards the man who draws his sword only in support of the dignity of freedom.

America has been the country of my fond election from the age of thirteen, when I first saw it. I had the honor to hoist, with my own hands, the flag of freedom, the first time that it was displayed on the Delaware, . . . ; I see it respected even here, in spite of the pitiful Sir Joseph, and I ardently wish and hope very soon to exchange a salute with the flag of this Republick. Let but the two Republicks join hands, and they will give peace to the World.

The singular character of the letter to Lady Selkirk did not fail to impress Jones's correspondent, who, while admiring its lofty sentiments, was moved to ask in a second letter some particular questions in regard to Jones's relations to the Earl.

The perusal of the letters with which you have favoured me has done the very same effect upon me that his Excell. Dr. Franklin expected they would do on the Countess of Selkirk, as you are represented in some of our newspapers as a rough, unpolished sailor, not only, but even as a man of little understanding, and no morals and sensibility, and as I think the 4 papers

extremely fit to destroy these malicious aspersions, I must take the liberty of asking your permission to publish them in our gazettes. The public will soon make this very just conclusion that the man honored by the friendship and intimacy of a Franklin cannot be such as you have been represented. There are three points on which you will oblige me by giving some elucidation. 1st. whether you have any obligations to Lord Selkirk? 2nd. whether Lady Selkirk has accepted your generous offer? 3rd. whether you have a commission of France besides that of the Congress? 'Tis not a vain curiosity that incites me to be so importunate; no, sir, the two first questions are often repeated to me by your enemies, or, at least, by prejudiced people; and as to the last, a relative of mine, a known friend of America, has addressed himself to me for information on that subject, which he will be glad to have before the States of his province, of which he is a member (but not yet, as I am, expelled the house), be assembled.

You will greatly oblige me by sending me as soon as possible such information as you will think proper to grant.

You may rely on our discretion; we can keep a secret too. I am in a great hurry, with the most perfect esteem. . . .

Whatever hopes the baron had of being made the depository of the secret of Jones's birth were doomed to disappointment, for Jones replied, as has been stated earlier in these pages, that "he had no obligation to Lord Selkirk except for his good opinion." In answer to the other questions, he stated that he had never borne a French commission, and expressed his unwillingness to permit the publication of the letter to Lady Selkirk.

Although still very proud of the literary style of his effusion to Lady Selkirk, Jones had developed a far better manner of expressing himself. To his friend John Bondfield, at Bordeaux, he wrote: "You know I suppose that Sir Joseph Yorke and his masters are determined, the one to drive me from hence if possible, and the others to pay me their compliments in England. I am much obliged for their kind attentions. They have done me the honor to place four fine ships at each entrance to this road, to give me a royal salute when I set sail. What regret I should have if an ill-natured gale of wind should force them on shore before I am ready to receive the great honor which they mean to pay me."

To Gourolade and Moylan at L'Orient he wrote with the same imperturbable amusement: "You will see by the public papers the great honor which the English do me by attending with unwearied patience my departure from hence, when they mean to salute me with eight ships at the south entrance, and with four others at the north entrance to the port. If I am not killed by their kindness I shall try to tread over the ground I have lately passed to visit L'Orient as soon as possible."

On the 28th in reply to an enthusiastic letter of praise from his beloved friend Lafayette, in which the latter had offered again to serve with him in future operations, he wrote enthusiastically of their common desire to reap honor rather than material advantage in fighting for the cause of freedom.

Lafayette's desire to conduct an expedition in concert with Jones had evidently been revived by the fame

of the latter's late astonishing success. If Franklin's original plan of associating these two ardent and capable soldiers of the American cause had not been overruled by the French court and they had together attacked with an adequate force the unprotected coasts and ports of England, some very astonishing results might have been accomplished, and some very interesting pages of history, strongly in contrast with those which tell the story of the fiasco of the expedition of the combined fleets of France and Spain, might have been written. Jones's plans were extensive, well laid, and perfectly feasible, and with anything like an adequate force he would surely have carried them to successful execution.

During the respite granted him in the temporary protection of the States-General, Jones hastened the business of refitting the *Serapis*. He was most anxious to get out of the Texel, and to proceed, according to his original intention, to Dunkirk with his prisoners. In answer to his repeated requests, the Duc de la Vauguyon wrote on the 29th giving him the desired permission to proceed to Dunkirk and informing him that orders for future operations would be awaiting him at that port. But Jones was not yet able to sail, and in the following letter, he sets forth the reasons which prevented him.

John Paul Jones to the Duc de la Vauguyon:

TEXEL, *November 4, 1779.*

MY LORD:—

This morning the commandant of the road sent me word to come and speak to him on board his ship.

He had before him on the table a letter, which he said was from the Prince of Orange. He questioned me very closely whether I had a French commission, and if I had, he almost insisted upon seeing it. *Cet avis donné au commencement n'étoit plus de saison depuis admission de l'escadre sous Pavillon Americaine (sic).* In conformity to your advice, I told him that my French commission not having been found among my papers since the loss of the *Bon Homme Richard*, I feared that it had gone to the bottom in that ship; but that if it was really lost it would be an easy matter to procure a duplicate of it from France. The commandant appeared to be very uneasy and anxious for my departure. I have told him that, as there are eight of the enemy's ships laying wait for me at the south entrance, and four more at the north entrance of the port, I was unable to fight more than three times my force; but that he might rest assured of my intention to depart with the utmost expedition whenever I found a possibility to go clear.

I should be very happy, my Lord, if I could tell you of my being ready. I should have departed long ago if I had met with common assistance; but for a fortnight past I have every day expected the necessary supply of water from Amsterdam in cisterns, and I am last night only informed that it cannot be had without I send up water casks. The provision too, that was ordered the day I returned to Amsterdam from the Hague is not yet sent down, and the spars that have been sent from Amsterdam are spoiled in the making. None of the iron work that was ordered for the *Serapis* is yet completed, so that I am even to this hour in want of hinges to hang the lower gun ports. My officers and men lost their clothes and beds in the *Bon Homme Richard*, and they have as yet got no supply. The bread that has been twice a week sent down from

Amsterdam to feed my people has been, literally speaking, rotten; and the consequence is, that they are falling sick. It is natural also that they should be discontented while I am not able to tell them that they will be paid the value of their property in the *Serapis* and *Countess of Scarborough* if either or both of them should be lost or taken after sailing from hence.

Thus you see, my Lord, that my prospects are far from pleasing. I have but few men, and they are discontented. If you can authorize me to promise them, at all hazards, that their property in the prizes shall be made good, and that they shall receive the necessary clothing and bedding, etc., or money to buy them with, I believe I shall soon be able to bring them again into a good humor. And in the meantime I will send a vessel or two out to reconnoitre the offing and bring me word. Whatever may be the consequence of my having put into this harbor I must observe that it was done contrary to my opinion and I consented to it only because the majority of my colleagues were earnest for it. I am under a very singular obligation to you my Lord, for your kind letter which you did me the honor to write me on the 29th of last month. It shall be my ambition to get clear of my present embarrassments and to merit what I so much esteem the good wishes of your excellency and of the court by my future service in support of the common cause.

I am and so forth.

JOHN PAUL JONES.

On the very day, the 29th, that the French ambassador sent Jones his permission to sail for Dunkirk with his prizes and prisoners, Sir Joseph Yorke again addressed the States-General in a second and more acrid memorial in regard to Jones and his squadron, defining very particularly his contention in regard to Jones's

legal status as the commander of a rebel squadron, without a commission from a recognized sovereign power. In this second communication, after thanking their high mightinesses for their orders in relation to the wounded, he added:

I cannot but comply with the strict orders of his majesty by renewing in the strongest and most pressing terms his request that these ships and their crews may be stopped and delivered up which the pirate Paul Jones of Scotland who is a rebel subject and a criminal of state has taken. The king would think he derogated from his own dignity as well as that of your high mightinesses were he to enter into the particulars of a case so notorious as that in question. or to set before the eyes of the ancient friends and allies of his crown analogous examples of other princes and states, but will only remark that all placards even of your high mightinesses require that all captains of foreign armed vessels shall upon their arrival present their letters of marque or commission. and authorize according to the custom of admiralties to treat all those as pirates whose letters are found to be illegal for *want of being granted by a sovereign power.*

The quality of Paul Jones and all circumstances of the affair are too notorious for your high mightinesses to be ignorant of them. The eyes of all Europe are fixed upon your resolution; your high mightinesses know too well the value of good faith not to give an example of it in this essential rencontre. The smallest deviation from so sacred a rule by weakening the principle of neighbors may produce serious results.

The arguments of Sir Joseph had already been invalidated by the action of his own government in permitting the exchange of Americans as prisoners of war, but his

second address to the States-General, with its threat of serious consequences, was so strongly supported by the Prince of Orange, whom Yorke by dint of daily interviews had finally driven to active measures against Jones, that it bore immediate results. After long and heated discussions which embroiled the assembly of their high mightinesses for a number of days, the States-General by a small majority adopted a resolution to order the American ships to put to sea without a moment's delay.

Writing to the Countess of Ossory on October 1, 1782, Horace Walpole refers thus to a letter purporting to be Jones's reply to Sir Joseph Yorke's statement that he was a pirate. "Have you seen the excellent letter of Paul Jones to Sir Joseph Yorke? Elle nous dit bien des verités. I doubt Sir Joseph can answer them. Dr. Franklin himself I should think was the author. It is certainly written by a first rate pen."

Horace Walpole's suspicion was entirely correct, and Franklin, undetected for many years, had successfully played one of his little jokes. On paper printed by himself on his little press at Passy he had set up what purported to be the "Supplement" of an American journal entitled *The Boston Independent Chronicle* and containing a letter from Paul Jones dated 7th March, 1781, Ipswich, New England. This letter, in full and lucid argument, disposed most effectually of Yorke's contention that Jones, as the bearer of an American commission, was a pirate. The sheet bearing this letter was sent secretly to Dumas with directions that it should be published as an authentic letter in an

existing American journal. The letter was generally believed to be genuine and was widely noticed in Europe.¹

In the voluminous correspondence of Sir Joseph Yorke with his court, copies of which are preserved among Sparks's manuscripts in the Harvard Library, is found a record of the various stages of the diplomatic crisis in Holland, with a very clear testimony of the largely determining effect which Jones's personal influence had in procuring concessions from the Dutch Government. The firmness and ability of the British ambassador was in fact brought to naught by Jones's personal popularity in Holland and his influence, first with the French ambassador, and, secondly, through his friend Dumas, with the grand pensionary M. von Berckel.² "The great man," as Dumas mysteriously called him in many cipher letters to Jones, was constantly importuned by Yorke to order the States-General to seize the ships and officers of the rebel squadron, and as constantly influenced by Dumas to continue the protection already afforded to Jones. In vain the British ambassador remonstrated and threatened. He was always, as he complained to his sovereign, embarrassed by unaccountable delay in the action of the Dutch Government. Exasperated by his failure, he finally conceived the idea of arresting Jones, and re-

¹ It was published first as the composition of Franklin in Colburn's London edition of Franklin's works in the year 1818. It has been lately reprinted by Professor Smyth in his exhaustive collection of Franklin's writings. The letter of Jones to Yorke published by A. C. Buell is an invention of the biographer.

² Appendix I.

lated with much asperity his failure to induce the high bailiff to carry out his wishes. Although failing at every point in the proceedings to force the States-General to measures beyond the strictly neutral terms of the placard, his conduct of affairs was so highly approved by George III that he was rewarded by a peerage. Captain Pearson also was knighted by his sovereign, and, together with Captain Piercy, of the captured *Countess of Scarborough*, received services of plate from the Royal Exchange Assurance Company for their "gallant defense of the Baltic fleet."

Having granted the protection of Jones's prisoners, and more than two months' asylum in the Texel, the States-General had no further excuse for refusing to carry out the terms of the placard and to order Jones to depart. His situation, therefore, now became exceedingly difficult.

Captain Riemersma, who as an American sympathizer had treated Jones with the utmost leniency, was ordered to relinquish his command in the Texel, and Vice-Admiral Reynst, an agent of the Prince of Orange, was appointed to succeed him.

At this critical moment Jones was sent for to come up to The Hague to consult with the French ambassador.¹

But lately provided with the very satisfactory orders to proceed immediately to Dunkirk with his prizes and prisoners, Jones was now to receive, according to the persistent sequence of his fortunes, bitter disappoint-

¹ A correspondent of a London journal states that he made this journey accompanied by M. Jean de Neuville and Captain Cunningham in two coaches-of-six.

ment and blows instead of rewards for hard-earned victories. Advised by the Duc de la Vauguyon of the threatening attitude of the States-General, Sartine had no mind to sacrifice the French ships and prizes to the murderous and overwhelming force of English warships, who were waiting at the entrance of the Texel for their exit, and prevailed with Franklin to issue orders to Vauguyon, confirmed by letters to Jones himself, to declare the cruise at an end and to order Jones to take command of the *Alliance*, as the only American ship in the squadron, and to turn over the *Serapis* with all the other ships and prizes to the French Government. This was the ultimatum which Jones received from the lips of his friend Vauguyon, and thus was the heart-breaking and humiliating order to give up the command of the *Serapis* communicated to him. In a discussion of thirteen hours Jones obstinately argued the point, yielding it at last under promises from the duke that he would use all his powers to preserve for Jones the right in his prizes, and for his prisoners their exchange. In a private letter to Franklin, Vauguyon wrote that "it would be impossible for him to render a too favorable report of Jones' conduct on this occasion," and he added that "it had increased the esteem with which his valor had inspired him."

After this painful interview Jones journeyed back alone to the Texel, and on the night of his arrival, after putting Cottineau in command of the *Serapis*, went at midnight on board the *Alliance*. How bitterly he regretted the necessity of giving up the beautiful ship which he had captured with such desperate bravery he did not express, except to write in a private letter that

it was a "very mortifying and disagreeable experience." But to Vauguyon himself, in a later letter, he gracefully referred to the trouble the duke had found in overcoming the "inflexibility of his nature," with a generous admission that he had no regret for having yielded to his arguments.

He found the *Alliance* in a most deplorable condition, without a single cable or sail, and unspeakably filthy. Deserted by their captain, the officers were either intemperate or lazy, and epidemic diseases were rife among the crew.

Jones's change from the *Serapis* had not been too quickly accomplished, for immediately upon his return to the Texel he learned that his friend Captain Riemersma had been relieved of his command. Vice-Admiral Reynst, bearing orders from the States-General to use force if needful to drive Jones to sea, arrived without delay upon the scene, and drew up his thirteen war-ships in battle array. Visiting the *Serapis* with orders for Jones's immediate departure, he was received with the information that the ship was under the command of Captain Cottineau, a subject of the French King, and that the *Serapis* was French property. Undeterred by this unexpected development of affairs, the Vice-Admiral sent a request to Jones to come aboard his ship, which was politely but firmly refused, whereupon ensued the following correspondence.

December 17th, 1779.

SIR.

I made a request of you yesterday, that you would take the trouble to come on board my vessel, from

which you excused yourself. and again this morning. I also make request by this present that you will have the goodness to inform me how I ought to consider the *Alliance*. In the first case I expect you to show me the commission of his majesty and that you will hoist the French flag and pendant, confirming it with a salute from your guns, and in the second case I expect you will not neglect any opportunity to depart according to the orders of their high mightinesses.

P. H. REYNST.

Alliance TEXEL.
December 17th. 1779.

SIR.

In answer to your letter which you have done me the honor to write me this day, I must observe that I have no orders to hoist the flag of France on Board the *Alliance*. nor can I take upon me to hoist in this port any other than American colors, unless I receive orders for that purpose from his excellency Benjamin Franklin. Esq.

In the mean time, it is my wish to find a favorable opportunity to sail from hence and whenever the pilot will take upon him to conduct the ship to sea, I will give him my best assistance. Should I receive new orders I shall not fail to communicate my situation to you.

JOHN PAUL JONES.

At this juncture of affairs the French minister of marine conceived a plan in concert with Jones's friend Vauguyon for his protection, which was, indeed, little in accordance with his ideas of honor or integrity. Through the Chevalier de Lironcourt, the French naval agent at Amsterdam, he offered to supply Jones with a French letter of marque, and Lironcourt actually had

the effrontery to send a false statement purporting to come from Jones for the latter to sign, in which Jones was asked to state that this commission had been issued to him at the beginning of the cruise. To this offer Jones sent a reply which has been rightly considered by his biographers to be the most creditable production which he ever penned. He refused with scorn the letter of marque, rejecting the assistance of the French ambassador and defying the powers of both Holland and England. Alone in his one American ship, between war-ships within and war-ships without, he kept the stars and stripes flying, and gave a signal proof not only of his courage but of his loyalty to America.

To the Duc de la Vauguyon:

Alliance TEXEL.

MY LORD. Perhaps there are many men in the world who would esteem as an honor the commission which I have this day refused. My rank from the beginning knew no superior in the marine of America. how then must I be humbled were I to accept a letter of marque! I should, my lord, esteem myself inexcusable were I to accept even a commission of equal or superior denomination with that I bear unless I were previously authorized by Congress or some other competent authority in Europe. and I must tell you that on my arrival at Brest from my expedition in the Irish channel Count D'Orvilliers offered to procure for me a court commission of capitaine des vaisseaux which I did not then accept for the same reason. although the war between France and England was not then begun. and of course the commission of France would have pro-

tected me from an enemy of superior force. It is a matter of the highest astonishment to me that after so many compliments and fair professions the court should offer the present insult to my understanding and suppose me capable of disgracing my present commission. I confess that I have not merited all the praise that has been bestowed upon my past conduct. but I also feel that I have far less merited such a reward. When profession and practise are so opposite I am no longer weak enough to form a wrong conclusion. They may think what they please of me, for where I cannot continue my esteem praise or censure from any man is a matter of indifference. I am much obliged to them for having at least fairly opened my eyes, and enabled me to discover truth from falsehood. The prisoners shall be delivered agreeable to the orders which you have done me the honor to send me from his excellency the American Ambassador in France.

I will also with great pleasure not only permit a part of my seamen to go on board the ships under your excellencies orders but I will also do my utmost to prevail with them to embark freely and if I can now and hereafter by any other honorable means facilitate the success or the honor of his majesty's arms I pledge myself to you as his ambassador that none of his own subjects would bleed in his cause with greater freedom than myself an American. It gives me more pain, my lord, to write this letter because the court has enjoined you to propose what would destroy my peace of mind, and my future veracity in the opinion of the world.

When with the consent of the court and by order of the American Ambassador I gave American commissions to French officers I did not fill up those commissions to command privateers nor even for a rank equal to that of their commissions in the marine of France; they were promoted to a rank far superior. And why?

Not from personal friendship, nor from my knowledge of their services or abilities (the men and their characters being entire strangers to me) but from the respect which I believed America would wish to show for the service of France. While I remained eight months seemingly forgotten by the court at Brest, many commissions such as that in question were offered to me, and I believe (when I am in pursuit of plunder) I can still obtain such a one without application to court.

I hope my lord, that my behavior through life will ever entitle me to the continuance of your good wishes, and opinion, and that you will take occasion to make mention of the warm and personal affection with which my heart is impressed towards his majesty.

I have the honor to be. &c

JOHN PAUL JONES.

In reporting his action to Franklin, Jones wrote: "I hope that my letter to the Duc de la Vauguyon will meet your approbation, for I am persuaded it could never be your intention that the Commission of the American Congress should be over laid by the dirty piece of parchment which I have this day rejected."

"They insult my understanding," he wrote to his friend Williams. "They invite me to insult the Stars of America, they are mistaken, the Stars of Freedom are but rising here—They are not rich enough to buy the 'Pirate Paul Jones.'"

On the 21st, the Duc de la Vauguyon, who protested that he was following the "*penchant de son âme*" in every effort which he made in furthering Jones's desires, wrote to his "dear commodore" a most conciliatory letter, assuring him that he possessed the full con-

fidence of the King, and begging him to rely also upon the same sentiments on the part of his ministers.

Again addressing the French ambassador on the 25th, Jones replied that he had not a heart of stone, and was duly sensible of the very kind and affectionate letter which he had received from him, but appealed to him as a man of candor and ingenuity to say, whether in view of the treatment he had received from the ministry while at Brest, he was of the opinion that he should desire to prolong his connection with the French court. The warm affection conceived by the ambassador for Jones was not interrupted by this incident. It served on the contrary to cement a friendship which, as Jones testified in his journal for Louis XVI, "would last until the end of their lives."

In regard to the exchange of the American prisoners, Jones's concern was always intense, and his belief that he had insured the liberty of all those still in captivity he declared to be "the greatest triumph which a good man can boast, a thousand times more flattering than victory." In these sentiments he was in perfect accord with Franklin, but their high hopes of an immediate exchange were destined to disappointment owing to the necessity which Franklin was under to concur in the agreement entered into at this time by the Duc de la Vauguyon and the English ambassador.

On the arrival of Jones's squadron in the Texel, with nearly five hundred prisoners, Franklin had proposed an immediate and direct exchange for a like number of Americans, but owing to their confident expectation of recapturing them from Jones upon his forced exit

from the Texel, the English court refused this proposition. Owing, however, to the protection afforded Jones by the Dutch Government, the English ambassador was later empowered to treat with the Duc de la Vauguyon, with the result that an agreement was concluded by the two ambassadors to exchange Jones's prisoners for Frenchmen, who should forthwith be sent for that purpose to the Texel. The agreement provided that the French Government should exchange an equal number of their own English prisoners for the American prisoners still in the military jails of England, who were to be sent in a cartel to France. With great reluctance Franklin accepted this agreement, and sent orders to Jones to transfer his prisoners to the French ships of his squadron. The ultimate result of this complicated arrangement was to frustrate the chief desire of Franklin and to bring to naught the principal advantage gained by Jones's cruise. Jones had a very vivid recollection of the broken promises and the dilatory methods of the French minister of marine, but these orders, which included the abandonment of both his prisoners and his prizes were issued by Franklin and urged by his friend the Duc de la Vauguyon. He had no alternative but to yield.

He embarked every American officer and man on board the *Alliance*, but sent all his prisoners to the French ships, according to his orders. "It may be observed," he wrote afterward in his journal to the King, "that I consented on this occasion in the eyes of all Europe, to a greater sacrifice than was made by any other officer during the revolution. I sacrificed

that military pride which forbids an officer to give up in a neutral port, those prisoners and prizes which have cost him so dear. It is well known that under the laws of the American flag, all prizes are the property of the captor."

The manner in which Jones conducted himself in his negotiations with the French ambassador was the subject of warm encomiums from that official to the French court, but the agreement so solemnly given to Franklin and Jones that English prisoners in France should be eventually exchanged for the suffering American prisoners in England was broken by both the English and French ministries. After sending over a hundred Americans during the winter of 1780 and failing to receive any English prisoners in exchange, according to the agreement, the English authorities refused to send any more. Thus four hundred American prisoners were left in captivity in England. The inexcusably bad faith of the French ministry in thus failing to carry out their agreement was the subject of heated remonstrances from Franklin to the Count de Vergennes, who, admitting the responsibility of his court, referred the matter back to Sartine. Sartine, replying to Vergennes, recalled to his mind that he had been daily consulted about everything which had been done in the matter. Vergennes, in a final letter, admitted that the promise for the exchange of the prisoners so solemnly given to Franklin and Jones was only a measure for getting Jones and his French ships out of the Texel and was never intended to be executed. He referred also to "later agreements made with Eng-

land which prevented any further exchange of American prisoners," saying that he thought the Americans should be indemnified in some way, and, if Sartine could think of any, he would be very pleased to assist him in carrying it out so as to satisfy Mr. Franklin.¹

In this exceedingly clear instance of double dealing on the part of the French ministry, may be seen at least one cause and excuse for Franklin's reserve toward the Count de Vergennes when the final treaties of peace between England and America were in negotiation.

In March, 1782, Franklin, in despair of a proper exchange, was still making ineffectual attempts to secure the escape of the unfortunate prisoners, but their final release was not effected until April 24 of that year, when, in response to a proposition from Jay, the English Parliament decreed that they should be exchanged as prisoners of war, a final ratification of the previous exchange of the two hundred prisoners taken by Jones in the *Ranger*. Thus the provisions of M. de Chaumont's concordat, which had frustrated Jones's intention of taking the prisoners to Dunkirk, had its full and disastrous effect, an effect which was also productive of long-drawn-out complaints and claims in the matter of the distribution of the prize-money.

Jones's firm attitude in regard to keeping Captain Pearson as a hostage for Captain Cunningham was reinforced in that one case very strongly by threats from Congress of retaliatory measures upon English prisoners in America, and the liberation of Cunningham was brought about. That interesting and gallant in-

¹ Letters in "Les Archives Nationales des Affaires Étrangères."

dividual arrived at the Texel in November and became Jones's constant and congenial companion.

Many weeks had passed by and Jones was still in the Texel, from which port of refuge it was the fixed intention of Admiral Reynst to dislodge him. Jones, however, was as determined as the Dutch admiral not to depart until the weather afforded a favorable opportunity for him to make his escape.

Determined to use force, if necessary, to carry out the wishes of his patron the Prince of Orange, Reynst issued a last peremptory order to Jones to depart. Upon receiving this final communication Jones replied to Reynst's messenger, the flag-officer of his ship, that he should proceed to sea when the pilot thought proper to carry him out. He further informed the admiral's messenger that he was indignant at the daily threats and annoyances to which he had been subjected, and desired that he would say to his chief that if he should meet him at sea with the *Alliance*, though the Admiral's ship was a sixty-four, he should force him to answer for his insults and menaces.

A report sent at this time by Dumas to Franklin gives an account of the manner in which Jones's admiring friend, the secret agent, had come to his assistance in this critical situation. "Every day he pressed and threatened us altho' the wind was contrary. On the 28th having again sent to hasten us, I made him confess with a loud voice, in presence of our crew and of his own rowers, that he required an impossibility, a declaration which I made the pilot sign afterwards. Then he let us alone for ten days. The wind appearing

favorable on December 8th, his officer found us ready to depart, but the wind changing it was necessary to cast anchor again after it had been already weighed."

During the respite of ten days which was thus secured to him, and while waiting for a favoring wind, which might drive the English from the coast, Jones employed his leisure time in drawing up for the American Congress a full account of his entire career in the navy, which he called a "Refreshing Memorial," comprising a remarkably clear presentation of his claims for reinstatement in his proper rank. In addressing it to the care of Robert Morris, he observed that he was sure his friend would remark with pleasure that his connection with a court was at an end, and that the prospect of returning to America was approaching. He assured Morris that in the course of that connection he had run ten chances of ruin and dishonor to one of reputation, and protested that all the honor and profit that France could bestow could not tempt him again to undertake the same service with an armament so ill composed and with powers so limited.

On the 21st of December, in a letter to M. de Neuville, he wrote: "I need not tell you the necessity it is for me to be ready at a moments warning, determined as I am that as far as depends on me the Stars of Freedom shall not suffer an affront."

Another week dragged by, when at last, on the 27th, the wind turned, blowing straight from the land, and at ten o'clock in the morning he slipped his cables and dashed out of the Texel, in the midst of a roaring gale, which, as he had hoped, drove the English ships far

out to sea, while he managed to keep to windward, sailing close to the Flemish shores, and triumphantly made his escape. Off Ushant, on the evening of that day, he despatched word of his safety to his anxious friend and ally, M. Dumas: "I am here, my philosopher, with a good wind at East, and under my best American colours. So far you have your wish. What may be the event of this critical moment I know not. I am not however without good hope."

The North Sea was spread thick with the war-ships of England, which, in case he succeeded in eluding the blockading squadron, were waiting to capture Jones in that region; but, steering due south, he made straight for the British Channel, past Calais, through a myriad of ships of all nations and in full sight of the Downs, took a good look at the English fleet anchored at Portsmouth, and so out to the open. "I had the pleasure," he wrote later to Dumas, "of laughing at their expense. We passed the Downs in sight of their ships of war, and along the coast in full view of the Isle of Wight."

Three days after, on the eve of the new year, he composed "un petit badinage" for Dumas's young daughter, whom he called the "Virgin Muse," in answer to some verses in which this romantic young lady had expressed her admiration. The verses are fairly well turned for a seaman, and indicate the exultation of his mood at the happy outcome of his difficulties.

(Written on board the *Alliance* off Ushant, the first day of January, 1780, immediately after escaping out

of the Texel, from the blockade of the British fleets; being in answer to a piece written and sent to the Texel by a young lady at the Hague.)

I

Were I, Paul Jones, dear maid, "the king of sea,"
I find such merit in thy virgin song,
A coral crown with bays I'd give to thee,
A car which on the waves should smoothly glide along:
The Nereides all about thy side should wait,
And gladly sing in triumph of thy state
"Vivat, vivat, the happy virgin muse!
Of liberty the friend, who tyrant power pursues!"

II

Or, happier lot! were fair Columbia free
From British tyrrany—and youth still mine,
I'd tell a tender tale to one like thee
With artless looks and breast as pure as thine.
If she approved my flame, distrust apart,
Like faithful turtles, we'd have but one heart:
Together then we'd tune the silver lyre,
As love or sacred freedom should our lays inspire.

III

But since, alas! the rage of war prevails,
And cruel Britons desolate our land,
For freedom still I spread my willing sails,
My unsheath'd sword my injured country shall command.
Go on, bright maid! The muses all attend
Genius like thine, and wish to be its friend.
Trust me, although conveyed through this poor shift,
My New-Year's thoughts are grateful for that gift.

A certain lyric quality born of his love of adventure, his high enthusiasm for the noble cause to which he

was so deeply devoted, set all his phrases to rhythm. "The stars of freedom" shone brightly above this ardent soldier of America, and again and again, in his letters, he utters their name with fond adoration. His love for his country had increased with the very dangers he had faced in her defence.

"I have not drawn my sword in our glorious cause for hire," he wrote in the concluding words of his memorial to Congress, "but in support of the dignity of human nature. and in obedience to the generous feelings of Philanthropy. I hoisted with my own hands the Flag of Freedom the first time it was displayed on board the *Alfred*, on the Delaware. and I have attended it with Veneration on the ocean. I claimed and obtained its first salute from that of France before our Independence was other wise announced in that kingdom; and no man can wish to support its rising Glory more ardently than myself."

On the 16th, after cruising for a fortnight off Cape Finisterre, in the vain hope of prizes, he found the *Alliance* in such need of repairs that he decided to steer for the Spanish port of Corunna, where he received the same enthusiastic reception which had been given him in Amsterdam, and from whence he made haste to send word of his arrival to his friends Dumas and Lafayette and to Franklin and Bancroft.

Jones's conduct in the diplomatic crisis in Holland did not fail to bring about the result which Franklin had foreseen. His tenacity in standing his ground against the threats of the British ambassador and the Dutch vice-admiral, his personal influence with high

officials and his popularity in Holland, which brought about the temporary protection of his squadron in the Texel, was the direct cause of involving the Dutch Government in the general war with England, and of forcing the Dutch Government's ultimate acknowledgment of American independence. In the declaration of hostilities later declared by England against Holland, the chief article of complaint was the protection which had been given to the "Pirate Paul Jones and the American squadron."

CHAPTER XVI

PARIS

ALTHOUGH the *Alliance* had served Jones to make his escape from the British squadrons, he found her sailing so exceedingly defective that he decided to bring his cruise to an immediate conclusion. He captured but one prize, a small Guernsey bark, which sank in a storm, and meeting with an American merchant-ship, the *Livingston*, he took it under his protection and steered without further delay for L'Orient, where he arrived on February the 10th, greatly exhausted by the suspense and trials of his winter in the Texel, and with eyes so inflamed that he "could scarce look on paper."

He left the *Alliance* in the road of Groix, and went up to L'Orient to rest at the house of his friend Moylan.

He discovered upon investigation the cause of the unaccountably bad sailing of the *Alliance*, which was due to Landais's extraordinary disposal of the ballast, which he had ordered to be suspended along the transoms from stem to stern, "an idea," he wrote in a letter to Franklin, a few days after his arrival, "which Landais might without vanity call his own."

In addition to the necessity of altering this arrangement, without which he said the trim of the ship could not be regained, he sent to Franklin an extensive list of repairs which he believed the ship was in need of and

which he suggested should be borne by the French Government.

As to the *Serapis*, which he found anchored in the road of Groix, he was naturally exceedingly anxious to regain command of her, and renewed the request, already preferred in several letters to Franklin after his departure from the Texel, that she should be purchased from the French court. Franklin replied on the 19th of February that he was delighted that Jones had arrived safely in France, "malgré all the pains taken to intercept him," but he declared that there was not the slightest chance that the French Government would pay for the repairs to the *Alliance*, particularly as they seemed to have been necessitated by Landais's neglect. "The whole expense," he added, "would therefore fall on me and I am ill provided to bear it, having so many unexpected calls upon me from all quarters. I therefore beg you would have mercy upon me, put me to as little charge as possible, and take nothing which you can possibly do without. As to sheathing it with copper it is totally out of the question. I have no money if I had authority, and no authority if I had money. The purchase of the *Serapis* is in the same predicament. For God's sake, be sparing! unless you mean to make me a bankrupt, or have your drafts disregarded for want of money in my hands to pay them." Franklin then requested that Jones should ship as ballast one hundred and fifty stand of arms which he had personally procured from the French minister of marine, some bales of cloth from Ross for the manufacture of uniforms for the army, and wrote that Ross himself

proposed to return with Jones to America, as well as Mr. Arthur Lee and Mr. Izard.

Replying on the 25th, Jones assured Franklin of his willingness to take the above-mentioned gentlemen as passengers, and said that he hoped he would be able to find a place for all the stores. He promised that Franklin's earnest plea for economy should be heeded, and proceeded as best he could to execute the repairs to the *Alliance*. Setting the whole ship's company to work under his personal direction, with the aid of four or five American carpenters he succeeded in restoring the efficiency "of the best sailing ship ever built in America," enabling her to accomplish, under Barry's command, her later brilliant services in the Revolution.

As to his request that the *Serapis* should become the property of the American Government, endorsed, as it was, by a petition signed by the entire American contingent at L'Orient, it was only unfortunate that it could not have been granted.

Although restraining Jones in the matter of what seemed to him unnecessary expense, Franklin was by no means unmindful of the necessities of his crew, who were without proper clothing, and had not yet received any pay or portion of their prize-money, and he sent Bancroft to L'Orient to investigate the situation and to relieve Jones in his difficulties. While earnestly and persistently urging the French court to expedite the sale of the prizes, he wrote to Jones to draw upon him, in case the sales should be delayed, for an advance of twenty-four thousand livres in the hope of allaying the natural discontent of the seamen.

In the meantime Bancroft reported that M. de Chaumont had made a voluntary offer of one hundred thousand livres, to be advanced for the same purpose, and had lodged this sum with his banker at L'Orient, M. Montplaisir. Jones immediately distributed Franklin's money to his men, but on applying to Montplaisir for M. de Chaumont's advance, found no money in his hands. "M. de Chaumont has given me no means of advancing money here," he wrote in anger to Franklin, "and if the people remain much longer dissatisfied, I tremble and let him tremble too, for the consequences."

With unremitting activity Jones continued his preparations for sailing for America, amid the growing dissatisfaction of his men. Ill clad in the wintry weather, kept unremittingly at their extra work of repairing the *Alliance*, impatient at the delay in the sales of their prizes, they were roused to uncontrollable fury at the act of the French minister, Sartine, who sent officers to L'Orient to take possession of the prizes on the part of the King. The astonishing manner in which the *Serapis* was dismantled at the orders of the minister of marine is described by Jones in his journal for Louis XVI: "The commissary (M. de Chaumont) had influenced the minister of Marine to take possession of the *Serapis* and the *Countess of Scarborough*, without first offering them for sale, according to the provision of the American laws. The minister therefore sent officers to L'Orient to disarm the *Serapis*, and without advising or consulting me, the magazines, the parapets, the galleries, and all the interior fittings were destroyed as well as an entire deck." The natural indignation of

Jones at seeing his beautiful prize thus dismantled before his very eyes was shared by the French themselves at L'Orient, whose general opinion it was that "having killed the lion he deserved the skin."

At this juncture, although entirely ready to sail, with ammunition and stores all on board, and his crew increased to four hundred by the addition of the one hundred prisoners who had been sent early in April to Morlaix in a cartel from England, Jones decided to go to Paris to hasten the sale of the prizes. In a private letter of later date, Jones thus confesses the motives which induced him to leave his ship at this critical moment: "Though my crews were almost naked, and I had no money to administer to their wants, yet my constant applications to court for two months produced no relief, no payment whatever, either of salary or of prize money. I was on the point of sailing back to America without any appearance of obtaining justice, without the least acknowledgement direct or indirect that the court was satisfied with my services. Under these circumstances in a moment of despair, I came to court to demand satisfaction."

In other letters he stated that all the Americans at L'Orient urged the necessity of his journey, but the desire which he admitted of finding out if the court were satisfied with his services was undoubtedly a factor in his decision.

On the 15th of April he was on his way to Paris and to Passy, where he was warmly welcomed by Franklin, who accompanied him to his first audience with Sartine. Although his reception of Jones was at first very

frigid, owing to the jealousy of the French naval officers, who resented the successes obtained by an American, Jones's personal interview with the minister bore immediate results. Sartine declared that he was able to pay more for a ship which was taken possession of in the name of the King, than when it was offered openly for sale, but upon representations from Franklin as to the illegality of the proceeding, made haste to repeal these orders and to issue others for the immediate sale of the prizes according to the American laws and the terms of the concordat. The object of Jones's visit having been thus quickly accomplished, he prepared at once to return to L'Orient, where his ship with the cargo so urgently needed in America was in readiness for departure. On the 20th of April he prepared a final epistle to Franklin in which he put in writing a request for a formal recognition of his services which he might present as a recommendation to Congress. But temptation in the form which he was least able to resist now delayed the departing steps of the hero. A concert of praise from the great and the humble sang the song of Circe in his too willing ears. All Paris, whose pleasure it was to celebrate the new ideas of liberty, and to sing songs in honor of the dear Americans, now rose to greet and to honor the victor of the *Serapis*. Eulogistic reports of his conduct in Holland had been sent to the King from his ambassador at The Hague, the Duc de la Vauguyon, insuring a most favorable reception at court; the report of his astonishing exploits was on every tongue, and curiosity to see the hero of the hour waxed so keen

that it penetrated even into the *petits appartements* of Versailles. Hearing that Jones was in attendance at the levee of the King with Franklin, Marie Antoinette, with a bevy of her ladies, hastened to place herself at one of the glass partitions of the palace to catch a glimpse of him as he passed by. A few days later, introduced by the captain of the guards, the Prince de Beauveau, he was accorded the honor of a private audience with the King, and afterward and often, as he wrote, he "was received at court on terms which could only have been dictated by a fixed esteem."

At the theatre and on the boulevards the French people showed their admiration by extravagant applause, following his appearance as that of a sovereign. Never was gratification so exactly adapted to the desires of the transported recipient, and never was there a more striking example of the communicative force of a fixed idea, and of the ultimate demonstration of a superlative personal equation.

"The public received me," he wrote afterward in his journal for Louis XVI, "at the opera, the theatres, and wherever I passed, with enthusiasm and the warmest applause; this added to the favorable reception accorded to me by his Majesty afforded me a singular satisfaction."

In Bachaumont's diary is found the following account of Jones's reception at the opera:

18 *May*. Paul Jones is still here, after having been applauded at various spectacles he went to the opera. As the public had been informed that his presence was expected, an enormous crowd had assembled to watch

his entrance. The Sieur Parisot, director of the spectacle, had conceived the plan of suspending a crown from the ceiling which at his taking his place should glide above the head of the American hero and thence descend upon his brow. Fortunately warned of this extravagant intention of the director, he asked that it should not be carried out, but the Sieur Parisot himself, who played the rôle of the Comte d'Estaing in the "Siege of Granada," which was the play selected for this evening, came himself in costume to reconduct Paul Jones to his carriage.

Jones's bearing on this occasion was the subject of general praise among the Parisians, and commended as an example of unusual modesty. The popular enthusiasm thus expressed in public spectacles and in the streets, was shared by all ranks of society.

He was once more a frequent attendant at the levees of the Duchesse d'Orléans at the Palais Royal, mingling with the throng who gathered there after the performance at the neighboring opera-house and who made their rendezvous among its gardens and arcades. From the moonlit terraces of Versailles he listened to music on "those charming innocent nights" of which the Prince de Ligne wrote with melancholy recollection in after days.

He was an amused spectator of a masked ball at the palace, when the grave Comte de Vergennes, wearing a globe on his head, a map of England on his back, and one of America on his breast, gave his arm to court beauties coifed "aux Insurgens."

Always sure of a warm reception at court, he met and conversed with the great ladies of his acquaint-

ance, the Duchesse d'Orléans, her maid of honor the Marquise de Barbantane, alike his friend and correspondent, the Countess of Lowendahl, also of royal blood and his particular friend and admirer.¹

Marie Antoinette also shared the King's desire to show him unusual honor, invited him to her box at the opera, and on all occasions when he was admitted to her presence accorded to him his particular share in that discriminating attention which she invariably and most gracefully bestowed upon the attendants of her court. Fanning states that the Queen presented Jones with a bouquet when he went with her to the opera, and Jones himself relates that she gave him a fob chain and seal on which, with her permission, he ordered engraved his arms bearing the crown of France combined with the trident.²

Excelling all in the dazzling whiteness of her complexion and in the brilliancy of her eyes, which expressed as none others the vivacity of her likes and dislikes, "A head taller," as the Abbé Fénelon wrote, "than all the ladies of her court, like a fine oak in the forest rising above the surrounding trees," she passed before Jones's sight, while he thought again "what a sweet girl she was and how she deserved to be happy."³

As a guest at Passy, Jones became a welcome visitor

¹ Letters to Jones from the duchess, unfortunately reserved from publication by Miss Taylor, were found among his papers.

² An impression of this seal is found on the envelope of a letter bearing the handwriting of Jones, and singularly representing the very first use of the envelope instead of the hitherto universal employment of the folded letter. The envelope with the seal attached is in the possession of Mr. James Barnes, of New York.

³ Letter to Father John Mehegan, L'Orient, December 23, 1778.

at the houses of Franklin's friends, and renewed at this time his association with the good Duc de la Rochefoucauld and the Comte d'Estaing.

Franklin dined out six days in the week, but reserved Sunday for the entertainment of Americans and of his immediate circle, which included the witty Abbé Morellet, Turgot, Cabanis, Madame Brillon, and Madame Helvetius. The invitations addressed to Jones for all sorts of entertainments organized in his honor likewise included Franklin. Madame la Présidente d'Ormoy, for many years intimate with Rousseau, was particularly assiduous in arranging a series of fêtes, where choruses of ladies in manteaux blancs sang verses rhymed to celebrate Jones's victory over the *Serapis*. This lady, born a Chaumont, having experienced reverses of fortune, had become the author of a comic opera called "Zelmis ou Le jeune Sauvage" and of various novels, whose titles ("La Laura Amoureuse," "La Vertu Chancelante," and so forth) revealed her romantic turn of mind. On the 16th of May she wrote: "Madame D'Ormoy begs M. Jones to give her the honor of supping with her next Thursday. The ladies are arranging to sing some new verses, she begs his friend the Doctor to come also if he has no other engagement."

Among the preserved correspondence of this period is a letter from Voltaire's brilliant friend Madame de Saint Julien, whose literary style gives a pleasant impression of her piquant intelligence: "It is a great pity, my dear captain, that you have less reliability than courage, and that you are not as good at keeping your

promises as you are in conquering your foes. Yet, what a fair alliance it is, that of promise with action! the one is worth quite as much as the other, I hope that you, who can do as you please, will not disappoint me and that I shall surely see you before your departure for L'Orient. You should love better those who love you—my dear captain—!"¹

It is sad to reflect at this time upon the altered relations between Jones and the Chaumont family; the gardens of the château no longer echoed the light railery of madame and her children, and M. de Chaumont, superseded in his influence at the court, was an annoyed spectator of Jones's triumphs, avoiding him, as the latter relates, with averted looks whenever they chanced to meet. The minister of the marine, M. de Sartine, always too much influenced by the jealousy of the naval officers, now wholly altered his attitude toward Jones on account of the favor shown to him by his sovereign, and paid him the most particular attentions. M. de Sartine, in fact, was rapidly approaching his fall; the extraordinary administrative ability which he had shown as superintendent of the police, in ac-

¹ Madame de Saint Julien, sister of the Marquis de Gouvernet, governor of Bourgoin, in 1765, was a woman celebrated for her intelligence. She assisted Voltaire, whom she watched over in his old age with the utmost devotion, to build the village of Ferney and to clear a great part of the surrounding country. She lived at La Tour de Pin, near the Glacier. There she established ateliers and gave fêtes. From 1766 to 1788 she carried on a constant correspondence with her illustrious friend. At the end of April the patriarch of Ferney wrote her the last letter penned by his hand. "I know well what I desire, but I know not what to do. I am ill, I suffer from my head to my feet, my heart only is well and that cannot serve me." A few weeks later he expired.

completing the entire reorganization of Paris, had not been repeated in his management of the marine. The public bitterly denounced him for his extravagance, and held him responsible for the disgraceful failure of the expedition of the combined fleets against England to such an extent that ironical couplets in his dishonor were printed and openly sung on the streets.

“J’ai balayé Paris avec un soin extrême,
Et voulant sur les mers balayer les Anglais
J’ai vendu si chers mes balais,
Qu’on m’a balayé moi-même.”

In sympathy with the general enthusiasm for liberty and the brotherhood of man, Freemasonry at this time was the mode in France. Soon after his arrival in Paris, Paul Jones applied for admission to the Lodge of the Nine Sisters, situated in the ancient novitiate of the Jesuits in the rue du Pot de Fer Saint Sulpice. The lodge marked the occasion of his initiation with a brilliant ceremonial. Bachaumont takes pains to report the proceedings in a highly appreciative vein.

Everybody knows that the celebrated Paul Jones is a sailor who follows in the steps of our greatest heroes of the sea, but no one knows that he served Apollo before he enrolled himself under the banners of Mars. This is what we learn from a discourse, addressed to him by the first orator of the Lodge of the nine sisters M. de la Dixmerie, the first Monday in May. Thanks to the extraordinary merits of the hero, whose panegyrist had no need to invent marvels for the purpose of interesting his hearers, this excellent discourse was crowded with facts, and stripped of the unworthy and

extravagant adulation too common in such eulogiums. In brief and rapidly delivered phrases brother de la Dixmerie, reviewed the origins of Masonry, tracing it back to the institution of Chivalry, which in turn derived its origin from the ancient mystics. The Lodge of the nine sisters, he said, desired to imitate their illustrious mother, whose custom it had always been to welcome with as much joy as ceremonial, such of the Preux Chevaliers who had accomplished some noble adventure. The brothers of the Lodge had been assembled and informed that a solemn meeting was to be held to formally initiate Paul Jones into their order. A very interesting fact also gathered from the discourse recalls that the brave de Couëdie, officer of the French Marine who perished while fighting with so much glory and courage for the honor of the French flag, was also a man of letters and an agreeable versifier. We should thank the author of this little chef d'œuvre for resisting the general tendency to belittle the English. He realized that he would the better exalt his hero in according to the proud Islanders the justice properly their due, and in putting Paul Jones on an equality with his rival Pearson. M. de la Dixmerie terminated his eulogium with a quatrain so original that it deserves to be preserved.

“Jones dans les combats en ressources fertiles
 Agit envers ses ennemis
 Comme agit envers nous une coquette habile
 On croit la prendre et l'on est pris.”

(Jones resourceful in battle when met
 Acts towards enemies, so 'tis said,
 As acts towards us a clever coquette,
 One thinks to take her and is taken instead.)¹

¹ The whole of this discourse, preserved by Franklin among a number of contemporary pamphlets, is in the possession of the Historical Society of Philadelphia.

The honors thus heaped upon Jones were followed by an order from the lodge to Houdon to execute his bust. This masterly work represented Jones at his best period, and according to the testimony of his distinguished contemporaries, may be considered as an entirely accurate likeness. Moreau le Jeune also made an excellent engraving of him at this time, and numerous sketches, medals, and miniatures were made by various artists. His now well-known face appeared upon snuff-boxes and medallions, which multiplied in numbers only less widely distributed than those of Franklin.

Jones was also besieged at this time by requests to serve under his command by the cadets of many of the noble houses of France, among whose letters are found the names of de Roberdeau, Puy Segur, de Tourneville, De Lowendahl, and de Vauban who, as the nephew of the Marquise de Barbantane, was recommended very warmly to his attention.¹

Introduced by the Baron de Castille, Jones was hon-

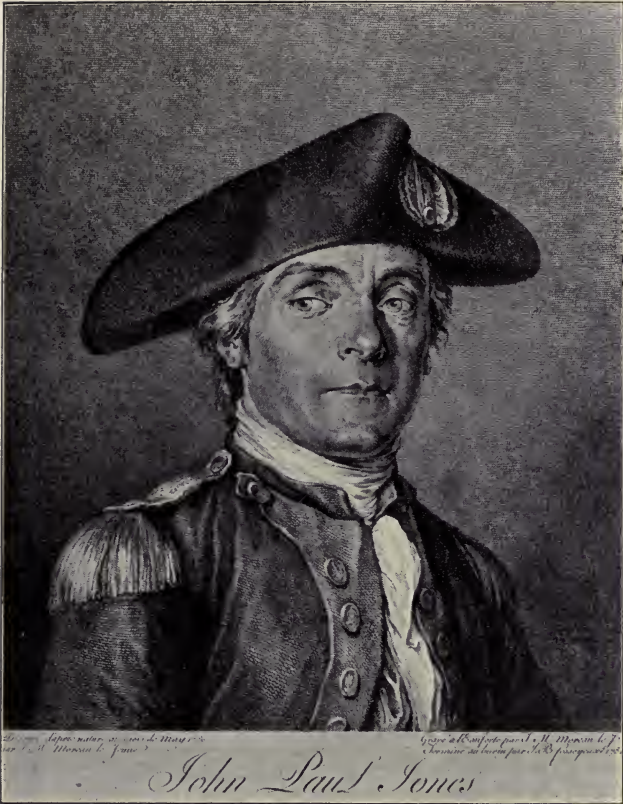
¹ Count de Tourneville to Paul Jones.

“Although I have not the honor of a personal acquaintance yet the fame of your exploits and the glory you have acquired in your last engagement induces me to ask a favor at your hands. It is to grant me an opportunity of being a witness of and a partaker in your chivalrous adventures. . . . I hasten to offer you my services. . . . I have the honor to request that you will receive me simply as a volunteer in order that having no fixed post I may be everywhere. I have further only to stipulate that you will admit me to your own table and place me under your immediate command, so that I may satiate my eyes with the pleasure of beholding your courage and at least imitate, for it would be impossible to equal it. I have been long in the service of my country, but the reform which I have introduced into the corps to which I belong, leaves me leisure to employ myself elsewhere. Since the moment when the fame of your glorious expedition spread through the the world, I have wished to serve under your orders, and seize the present opportunity to assure you that if you accept my proffered services you will never have cause to repent it.”

ored by an invitation to dine with the Maréchal de Biron. The entry of the 20th May in Bachaumont's diary gives an account of the occasion:

Several days ago, the Maréchal de Biron who loves to receive at his table all strangers of merit or distinction, gave a dinner for Paul Jones. The Maréchal asked him many questions and by the replies he elicited from the American one can judge of the quality of his wit. The Maréchal, referring to Captain Pearson the Commander of the *Serapis* as an adversary who had merited renown, remarked upon his having been made a knight. "I hope, Monsieur," replied Jones, "that I may one day make a Lord of him." The Maréchal a little later asked him if he had witnessed the Review and if he had remarked the manœuvres of the Regiment des Gardes. "I should have preferred," he replied, "to watch them in the Park of St. James." It appears that he was forced to make use of an interpreter, being absolutely unable to express himself in our language.

Although able to speak very little French at this time, Paul Jones found no difficulty in making very warm friends among the many distinguished people who delighted to receive him. An exquisite simplicity, the flower of highly evolved social conditions, accompanied by an invariable *besoin de plaire*, characterized these happy prerevolutionary days, of which Talleyrand wrote that "those who had not known life before 1789 had never tasted its sweetness." This simplicity, appearing often as an almost childlike lack of self-consciousness, marked the manners of this time, when pleasure, sought for itself, was the only aim, and senti-



JOHN PAUL JONES.

From the engraving by Moreau le Jeune, in the collection of
Mr. Charles A. Munn.

ment, its throned idol, made all the laws. Paul Jones, candid to a fault, simple, as to his credit he remained under his laurel leaves, and the victor of an unrivalled combat, which recalled the ancient legends and centuries of heroism, was to such a society its very beautiful. Grimm comments thus in his memoirs upon his peculiarly charming *conduite* among these powers and beauties:

The intrepid Paul Jones has been here for some weeks, He has had the honor to be presented to the King: he has been applauded with transport at all the public places where he has shown himself, and particularly at the opera. It is a singularity worthy of remark that this brave corsair who has multiplied proofs of possessing a Soul the most brave and courage the most determined is at the same time the most feeling and mild man in the world, and that he has made a great many verses full of elegance and softness. The sort of poetry which appears most congenial to his taste being the elegiac and the sentimental.

During the six weeks in which Jones was at the height of his *bonnes fortunes* he formed intimacies with two particular coteries, that of M. Genêt, the brother of Madame Campan, who was at this time the secretary of M. de Sartine, and with that of the Présidente d'Ormoy. M. Genêt evinced the most friendly desire to be of service to him in his official as well as his private capacity, making his way easy with the minister and transmitting letters to Jones's fair friends. An English lady, Miss Caroline Edes, who was staying with the Genêts, wrote for her home journal the follow-

ing account of her impression of him and of the general admiration which he excited:

The famous Paul Jones dines and sups here often. He is a smart man of 36, speaks but little French, appears to be an extraordinary genius a poet as well as a hero. A few days ago he wrote some verses extempore of which I send you a copy. He is greatly admired here especially by the ladies. who are all wild for love of him, but he adores Lady (the Countess Lavendal) who has honored him with every mark of politeness and attention.

Verses addressed to the Ladies who have done me the honor of their polite Attention. Presented by Paul Jones to Madlle G—

Insulted Freedom bled. I felt her cause
 And drew my sword to vindicate her laws.
 From principle and not from vain applause.
 I've done my best, self interest far apart,
 And self reproach a stranger to my heart.
 My zeal still prompts ambitions to pursue
 The foe, ye fair! of liberty and you.
 Grateful for praise spontaneous and unbought
 A generous peoples love not meanly sought
 To merit this and bend the knee to beauty
 Shall be my first and latest duty.

The lady of Jones's special admiration was Charlotte Marguerite de Bourbon Charolais, the legitimized daughter of his serene highness Monseigneur Charles de Bourbon Condé. She and her elder sister, Marie Marguerite, were both the daughters of Marguerite Caron de Rancurel, a lady of Lassone and were legitimized in November, 1769. Charlotte was married in

1772 to the Count François Xavier de Lowendahl, brigadier-general in the King's forces. At the time of her acquaintance with Paul Jones she was twenty-six years old and in the heyday of her beauty and fascination. She sang, she wrote verses like everybody else, she took lessons in miniature painting, she was nowise averse to flirtation, and she set Jones fairly afire with her charms and her flatteries, but she had a very cool head, and, unlike most of her contemporaries, she was really attached to, or perhaps controlled by, her husband. She accepted for a time the devotion she had been at pains to arouse, and painted the miniature of Jones in uniform and orders, which now reposes at the Naval Academy in Annapolis.

In a whirl of festivities and applause the brief weeks of his triumph in Paris too quickly came to an end and Jones realized that the time was approaching when he must return to his ship.

He did not cease to press M. de Sartine for the immediate payment of his men, but his mind was already revolving plans for those extensive operations which he was now more than ever confident that he was capable of conducting. He believed in the hour of his glory that he might at last secure an adequate force, through the support and favor of both the American and French governments, and, free from the interference of M. de Chaumont and the hampering conditions of the concordat, that he might realize his legitimate ambitions.

He made a proposition to Vergennes, to return to America with the *Alliance* and there to secure the additional command of the new seventy-four-gun ship

America, then building at Portsmouth, after which he proposed to return with the two vessels to France, bringing a force of American seamen to man ten or twelve frigates to be supplied by the French Government. In this squadron Vergennes engaged to embark a force of French troops, principally from the Irish regiments, and this important squadron should then be placed under Jones's sole command and should make a second attempt to attack the English coasts and to realize the long-desired aim of Franklin and the French court of capturing the Baltic fleet.

Jones found Vergennes far more sympathetic to his proposition than the vacillating Sartine. Vergennes's recollection of the disgraceful failure of the great expedition of the combined fleets against England was very fresh and, entirely uninfluenced as he was by the jealousy of the French marine officers, he was quite willing to attack England again with the weapon which had lately won so distinguished a victory over the ancient enemy of France, even though that weapon were to be a squadron under the command of an American captain and manned with a force of American seamen.

That such a proposition should have been instantly favored by the French court is significant of the estimation in which Jones was held by the greatest of its ministers.

This estimation, already sufficiently proved, was still to be further expressed by the gift of a gold-hilted sword from Louis XVI. It was the greatest mark of distinction which Jones ever received and became the pride



JOHN PAUL JONES.

From the portrait known as the
"Countess de Lowendahl miniature."
Reproduced by the courtesy of the
United States Naval Academy.

and boast of his life. The weapon was an exquisite example of the taste of the period, and bore the flattering inscription:

Vindicati Maris Ludovicus XVI Remunerator
Strenuo Vindicati

It was also the King's desire to invest Jones with the Cross of Military Merit, an honor never before offered to any individual not a subject of the kingdom, and to give him the title of Chevalier.

In a letter of May the 30th to the president of Congress, M. de Sartine thus communicates his sovereign's desires to the American Government, with the express statement that his Majesty would be ready to approve any of Jones's projects which should be supported by Congress.

M. de Sartine to Mr. Huntington, President of the Congress of the United States:

VERSAILLES *May 30.*

Commodore Paul Jones after having shown to all Europe and particularly to the enemies of France and the United States the most unquestionable proofs of his valor and talents, is about returning to America to give an account to Congress of the success of his military operations. I am convinced, Sir, that the reputation he has so justly acquired will precede him, and that the recital of his actions alone will suffice to prove to his fellow citizens that his abilities are equal to his courage. But the King has thought proper to add his suffrage to the public opinion. He has expressly charged me to inform you how perfectly he is satisfied with the services of the Commodore, persuaded that

Congress will render him the same justice. He has offered as a proof of his esteem to present him with a sword which cannot be placed in better hands, and likewise proposes to Congress to decorate this brave officer with the Cross of Military Merit. His Majesty conceives that this particular distinction, by holding forth the same honors to the two nations united by the same interests will be looked upon as one tie more that connects them, and will support that emulation, which is so precious to the common cause. If after having approved the conduct of the Commodore, it should be thought proper to give him the command of any new expedition in Europe, his Majesty will receive him again with pleasure, and presumes that Congress will oppose nothing that may be judged expedient to secure the success of his enterprizes. My personal esteem for him induces me to recommend him very particularly to you, Sir, and I flatter myself that the reception he will receive from Congress will warrant the sentiments with which he has inspired me.

Franklin also furnished his friend with this commendatory letter to Congress, which he had requested:

PASSY, *June 1st.*

SAMUEL HUNTINGTON ESQ. *President of Congress.*

Sir.

Commodore Jones who by his bravery and conduct has done great honor to the American flag, desires to have that also of presenting a line to the hands of your Excellency. I cheerfully comply with his request in recommending him to the notice of Congress, and to your Excellencys protection though his actions are more effectual recommendations. and render any from me unnecessary. It gives me however an opportunity of showing my readiness to do justice to merit and of pro-

fessing the esteem and respect with which I am. and so forth.

Thus at the very height of his popularity, bearing honors and orders, with the prospect of far more extended commands than had ever been intrusted to him, Jones prepared to take farewell of his friends. Miss Edes, in a second account to her home journal, writes her impression of his final appearance at M. Genêt's.

Since my last Paul Jones drank tea and supped here. If I am in love with him for love I may die. I have as many rivals as there are ladies, but the most formidable is still Lady——(the Countess of Lavendal) who possesses all his heart. The lady is of high rank and virtue, very sensible, good-natured and affable. Besides this she is possessed of youth beauty and wit and every other female accomplishment. He is gone I suppose for America. They correspond and his letters are replete with sentiment and delicacy. She drew his picture (a striking likeness) and wrote some lines under it which are much admired, and presented it to him who since he received it, is, he says, 'like a second Narcissus in love with his own resemblance.' To be sure he is the most agreeable sea wolf one could wish to meet with. As to his verses you may do with them as you please. The King has given him a magnificent gold sword, which, lest it should fall into the hands of the enemy, he has begged leave to commit it to the care of her ladyship, a piece of gallantry which is here much applauded. If any further account of this singular genius should reach my hands you shall have it.

On the 29th of May, Jones dined with M. de Sartine, leaving in his hands the necessary papers in regard to

the regulation of the wages account of his men, endorsed, according to the minister's request, by Franklin. Sartine promised that the payment should be made without further delay, and, forgetting how dilatory and unreliable the minister was apt to become when his personal influence was removed, Jones was contented with his assurances. It is not surprising that his opinion in regard to the dealings of the French court should have been altered by the extraordinary marks of favor which he had received, and the attitude of M. de Sartine himself appeared to be so entirely favorable that he was perhaps to be excused for a moment's over-confidence in his engagements. His admissions of regret that he had not "absolutely insisted upon the payment of his men before leaving Paris" were accompanied with complaints of M. de Chaumont's continued interference in the matter, which in this case could and should have been overcome by a further use of his and Franklin's influence. Whatever may be urged in defence of his temporary neglect of his men, it is too evident that this neglect was caused by the exaltation of his mind over the honors he had received and the great campaigns which he believed to be in prospect, and that he was deeply preoccupied at the moment of his departure with the Countess of Lowendahl.

That he should have discussed the lady of his heart with the very indiscreet Miss Edes, who did not hesitate to impart her information to the public prints, indicates the degree of his infatuation, and shows an unfortunate candor which unquestionably displeased the

countess and influenced her subsequent attitude toward her admirer.

On the 1st day of June a peremptory order arrived from the board of admiralty, announcing that the available ships of the American navy had been sent to Charleston and advising Franklin that the *Alliance* was required for the defence of Philadelphia. This order was immediately communicated to Jones, with commands that he should sail with the utmost expedition. Jones therefore left Passy, going to the Hotel de Valois to join the now cordially disposed John Adams, whose intention it was to return with him to America; but on the evening before his departure he went again to Versailles to pass his last moments in the company of the countess. At a late hour he tore himself from her side, but as shown by the following letter, despatched midway on his return journey, at Nantes, it is clear that his ardor was restrained by some undefined instinct, and that the words which burned on his lips were unspoken.

NANTES *June 7th.* 1780.

MADAM.

Nothing short of my duty to the Glorious cause of Freedom in which I have the honour to be engaged, could have induced me to leave Versailles a little hour after I parted from you, while my Heart urged me to stay that I might have the happiness to see you the next morning. I will not attempt to describe the sentiments that you have inspired in my mind. for words could not do justice to the affections of a Breast like mine that is all alive to the divine feelings of gratitude and Sensibility. I shall only say that my best abilities

shall through life be exerted to merit a regard from you that is founded on private esteem, and if I have not the good fortune to deserve your elegant Panegyric by my future services, I can faithfully assure you that it shall not be owing to my want of endeavor. You have made me in love with my own picture because you have condescended to draw it. If it is possible for you also to bestow the portrait I have solicited I will wear it round my neck and always think how I may merit so great an obligation. You may lay me under any charge you please and I will promise you on my honor that your confidence shall not be misplaced. I am deeply concerned in all that respects your happiness. therefore have been and am much affected at some words that fell in private conversation with Miss Edes the Evening before I left Versailles. I am afraid that you are less happy than I wish and am sure you deserve to be. I am composing a cypher for a key to our future correspondence, so that you will be able to write to me freely and without risk. It is a small dictionary of particular words. with a number annexed to each of them. In our letters we will write some times the corresponding number in stead of the word, so that the meaning can never be understood until the corresponding words are inter lined over the numbers. If this cypher is finished before the departure of my friend, the bearer (Mr. Ross) you will receive it here with, if not I will send it to you from L'Orient, for which place I depart tomorrow. I send this under cover to M. Genêt, at whose house Mr. Ross will leave it, and call there for your commands some days afterwards when on his return from Paris to join me at L'Orient. I have not mentioned your name to Mr. Ross, but if you should chuse to see him he will obey your summons and wait on you at your Hotel. I beseech you to accept the within lock. I am sorry it is now eighteen inches

shorter than it was three months ago. If I could send you my heart itself or anything else that could afford you pleasure it would be my happiness to do it. *Before* I had the honour of seeing you I wished to comply with the invitation of my lodge, and I need not add that I have since found *stronger* reasons that have compelled me to seek the means of returning to France again as soon as possible.

The words in which Disraeli's¹ easily recognized pen comments upon the reply of the countess and Jones's rejoinder are worth repeating:

Alas! la belle Comtesse! alas, deceitful woman! the fair Lavendahl retained the cipher, the letter and the lock, but wrote to Jones to express her astonishment at his audacity and to express her supposition that his packet was misdirected. In confirmation of this last idea she begged to introduce to him the Count de Lavendahl her husband; he was passing through L'Orient, and she should be obliged to Jones "to pay him every civility." Jones answer is too good to be omitted. His defense of himself, his compliment to the husband, his introduction of business and his dextrous return to the charge at the end are all very admirable.

"L'ORIENT. *July 14th 1780.*

"MADAM.

"Since I had the honor to receive your packet from Versailles, I have carefully examined the copy of my letter from Nantes, but am still at a loss, and cannot conceive what part of the letter itself could have occasioned your imagining I had mistaken the address. As for the little packet it contained perhaps it might

¹ Murray edition of the Sherburne Papers, London, 1825.

better have been omitted, if so it is easily destroyed. If my letter has given you even a moments uneasiness I can assure you that to think so would be as severe a punishment as could be inflicted upon me. However I may have been mistaken, my intention could never have been to give you the most distant offense. I was greatly honored by the visit of the Count your husband, and am so well convinced of his superior understanding, that I am glad Miss Edes was mistaken. I admire him so much that I should esteem myself very happy indeed to have a joint expedition with him by sea and land, though I am certain that his laurels would exceed mine. I mention this because M. Genêt has both spoken and written to me on the subject as from the Count himself.

“I had the honour to lay a project before the King’s ministers in the month of May, for future combined expeditions under the flag of America, and had the satisfaction to find that my ideas were approved by them. If the count your husband, will do me the honour to concert with M. de Genet, that the court may send with me to America the application that was intended to be made to Congress, conformable to the proposal, I made, it would afford me a pleasing opportunity of shewing my gratitude to the king and to this generous minded nation. I should be greatly proud to owe my success to your good offices, and would gladly share with your husband the honour that might result from our operations. I have within these few days had the honour to receive from his Majesty the Cross of Military Merit, with a sword that is worthy the royal giver, and a letter which I ardently wish to deserve. I hold the sword in too high estimation to risk its being taken by the enemy; and therefore propose to deposit it in the care of a friend. None can be more worthy of that sacred deposit than you, Madam, and if you will do

me the honour to be its guardian, I shall esteem myself under an additional obligation to deserve your ribbon, and to prove myself worthy of the title of your knight. I promised to send you a particular account of my late expedition, but the late extraordinary events which have taken place with respect to the *Alliance*, make me wish to postpone that relation until after a court martial in America shall have furnished evidence for many circumstances that would from a simple assertion appear romance and founded on vanity.

“If I am to have the honor of writing you from beyond sea, you will find the cipher I had the honor to send you may be necessary, because I would not wish all my informations to be understood in case my letters should fall into the hands of the enemy. I shall communicate no idea in cipher that will offend even such great delicacy as yours; but you are a philosopher and as friendship has nothing to do with sex, pray what harm is there in wishing to have the picture of a friend? Present I pray you my best respects to the Count. If we are hereafter to be concerned together in war, I hope my conduct will give him satisfaction. At any rate I hope for the honor of his friendship, Be assured that I shall ever preserve for you the most grateful esteem and the most profound respect.”

The real object of the lady's attentions to Jones appears clearly in her reply to his second letter, as well as the fact that her husband had a very definite knowledge of the interest his wife had aroused in the popular hero and an intention as definite to profit by it. She refused the offer of the guerdon of victory as she had rejected that of his heart, and a third letter from Jones shows that he was forced to rely on her desire for her

husband's advancement for any prospect of future communication with her.

ARIEL, Road of Groix.
September 21, 1780.

MADAM.

I was honored with the very polite letter that your Ladyship condescended to write me the 5th of last month. I am sorry that you found it necessary to refuse me the honor of accepting the deposite mentioned in my last, but am determined to follow your advice and be myself its guardian. I have been detained in this open road by contrary and stormy winds since the 4th of this month. There is at this moment an appearance of a fair opportunity and I will eagerly embrace it. I have received a letter from the first minister very favorable to the project I mentioned to you and you may depend upon my utmost interest with Congress to bring the matter to issue. I am sure that assembly will with pleasure say all I or the Count could wish respecting the Count if my scheme is adopted. I have the satisfaction to inform you that by the testimony of all the persons just arrived in four ships at L'Orient from Philadelphia, the Congress and all America appeared to be warmly my friends, and my heart, conscious of its own uprightness, tells me I shall be well received. Deeply and gratefully impressed with a sense of what I owe to you and your husbands attentions and good wishes, and ardently desiring to merit your friendship and the love of this nation by my whole conduct through life, I remain, Madam, and so forth.

P.S. I will not fail to write whenever I have anything worth your reading. at the same time, May I hope to be honoured now and then with a letter from

you, directed to Philadelphia? I was selfish in begging you to write in French, because your letters would serve me as an exercise. Your English is correct and even elegant.

Jones's disappointment was not lasting, and the little flame soon burnt itself out, but that so passing an interest should have obscured his judgment when matters of the first importance demanded his undivided attention was a source of lasting and bitter regret. A series of very grave complications emerged one by one from the desire of the Count de Lowendahl to figure as a second Lafayette in the American Revolution, and for his forgetfulness in the net of the charmer Jones was soon to pay a price far too dear for his pleasure and to suffer a punishment too great for his fault.



MEDAL AWARDED TO JONES BY THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS.

CHAPTER XVII

LANDAIS AND THE "ALLIANCE"

To understand properly the underlying motives which governed Paul Jones at the moment of his departure from Paris, it is necessary again to emphasize the fact that he had received definite promises from the French court of obtaining the forces which would enable him to prove his capacity to conduct extensive naval operations and his right to the title of a great sea officer.

The wave of enthusiasm which followed his first brilliant exploits in English waters had carried him within sight of the goal of his hopes, when he had received his orders to join in the expedition with Lafayette against England. Now again, at the moment when he had shown such signal proof of his ability, and while the echoes of the applause for his astonishing victory over the *Serapis* were still ringing in his ears, he confidently believed the time was ripe for the realization of his ultimate ambitions.

As his friend Lafayette had procured from the French court a large supply of military stores for the American armies, Jones, with the concurrence of Franklin, had secured the loan of the *Ariel*, a twenty-gun ship, in which to transport that portion which could not be bestowed on the *Alliance*. Peremptory orders for the immediate transportation of the stores had been issued by Congress, and it was Jones's desire to obey

them with the utmost despatch, particularly as he believed that the manifold honors and recommendations which he had received from the French court would enable him to carry out the next step in his programme as approved by Vergennes, which was to obtain a part of his proposed squadron from Congress. His confidence in his own powers had not only been confirmed by his successes, but had been further enlarged by the careful study he had made under the instruction of the high officers of the French navy of matters pertaining to the science of directing the operations of a fleet. This precious opportunity had been his during the long months of inaction at Brest when, in daily and intimate association with the great tactician Count d'Orvilliers, and his assistant the Chevalier de Pavillon, he had pursued a course in naval tactics, and had been furnished with copies of the signals used by the admirals of France and Spain. Little dreaming that a check was to be put upon these legitimate hopes and expectations, he prepared to realize them with the utmost eagerness.

He had been somewhat disturbed by a letter from Landais addressed to Franklin, which had been shown to him on the day of his departure from Paris, in which the disgraced officer had made the unaccountable demand to be reinstated in the command of the *Alliance*; but no hint of the real import of this demand was conveyed to him until a week after his arrival at L'Orient, when Lieutenant Degge very insolently challenged him as to his right to command that vessel. The dissatisfaction of his crew, owing to the detention of their wages

and prize-money, had in fact increased to the point of a mutiny which he found himself unable to control. He was accused with manifest injustice even by Fanning, who expressed the prevailing opinion of the seamen, of conspiring with his enemy M. de Chaumont to keep their money from them. He had been whiling away his time at the French court, while they, penniless and half naked, had been waiting in vain for their pay. The contrast was too vivid, and they were ready to listen to any evil report.

The complications which hindered the payment of the money which was rightly their due were almost entirely traceable to M. de Chaumont's wholly unbusinesslike methods in his conduct of the financial affairs of the squadron. The matter was not to be quickly or easily settled, even with all the influence which Jones and Franklin could bring to bear. The conditions were unfortunate and offered an opportunity for misapprehension of the motives and action of both Jones and Franklin which was not lost by their common enemy Mr. Arthur Lee. Instantly realizing his chance to make serious mischief, Lee left no stone unturned to carry out his revengeful purposes, and found an instrument ready to his hand in the discredited and disgraced Captain Landais, of the *Alliance*.

When Landais was summoned by Franklin and Sartine to come to Paris he took with him a paper, signed by fourteen officers of the *Alliance*, to prove his innocence of the charge of having fired into the *Bon Homme Richard* during the engagement with the *Serapis*, as well as a certificate of his good conduct, signed

by his officers and crew. These documents were both drawn up immediately upon Landais's receipt of his summons to Paris, which came to hand on October the 21st, 1779, shortly after Jones's squadron had anchored in the Texel. Armed with this exculpatory testimony Landais proceeded to Paris, arriving at Franklin's door on the 8th of November.

In "A Defense of the Conduct of Peter Landais During the Engagement Between the *Bon Homme Richard* and the *Serapis*," written by himself and printed in Boston by Peter Edes in the year 1784, these documents were published, together with a schedule of the various positions of the ships during the engagement, prepared by Landais and signed by his officers.¹ The certificate of the seamen, drawn up in the form of an address to Franklin, expressed their surprise that their "honoured commander had been accused of cowardice in relation to his conduct on the 23rd of September," and attested to their approbation of his action, which had never at any time exposed their lives to danger, by saying that "he had behaved with the utmost magnanimity and prudence, and the vigilance of a wise and resolute commander, and that he took all possible methods, in so calm a time, and in the night, to distress the enemy and help our friend." The testimony of the fourteen officers, outside of preliminary oaths as to the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth of their presentation of the sketch and narrative of the engagement, is confined to the statement that "every time we went for to rake the *Serapis*, Captain Landais and Mr.

¹ Letter of Cottineau to Jones, October 8, 1779.

Buckley called to the lieutenants to tell the gunners to take care not to fire upon the *Bon Homme Richard*, and always explained which was the *Serapis* and which was the *Bon Homme Richard*, that there could be no mistake, as we could see their colors."

The names of Captain Parke of the marines, of First-Lieutenant Degge, and of the master, Mr. Buckley, appear among the signers of this document, dated October the 22d. These same three names appear among the signatures appended to No. 20 of the charges against Landais drawn up at Jones's direction on October the 30th, in which they affirm that "several people on board the *Alliance* told Captain Landais at different times that he was firing into the wrong ship, and others refused to fire."

The conclusion is unavoidable that these officers would never have placed their names to this later document, which absolutely invalidated the truth of the first, if they had not been convinced by the overwhelming character of the testimony given by the other officers of the squadron of the guilt of Landais, and if they had not hoped by their later testimony to relieve themselves of blame by throwing it entirely upon their captain.

Information contained in Landais's "Defense," in regard to Franklin's conduct of the very difficult and complicated affair which was left to his jurisdiction, is exceedingly interesting in the light it throws upon the motives which actuated him as an American minister to protect the reputation of the American officers and seamen under Landais's command.

Arriving at the door of Franklin's residence on November the 8th, Landais relates that Franklin received him with embarrassment; and when questioned as to the charges which had been preferred, he replied that as yet no formal charges had been received but that he had been informed they were on the way. With great insolence, Landais then demanded Franklin's reasons for recalling him from his command when no accusations had been laid against him. Franklin replied that he had summoned him at the request of Sartine, and advised him to see that minister. Landais then very impertinently declared that he had nothing to do with the French minister, and asked if Sartine was the American minister as well. Told to come again when the charges should have arrived, Landais relates that on the information that Doctor Bancroft and M. de Chaumont had been requested to take part in an inquiry fixed for the 15th of November, he duly presented himself on that day at Passy. Received at the door by W. T. Franklin, Franklin's grandson and secretary, Landais inquired if the charges against him had been received. Young Franklin replied in the affirmative, but was sharply reprov'd and contradicted by the minister, who followed him into the hall. As the evidence against Landais,¹ drawn up on the 30th of October and immediately after despatched to Passy by Jones was not forthcoming at the inquiry, the conclusion, in view of his grandson's statement that it had been duly received, is inevitable that Franklin deliberately sequestrated the document in which Landais's guilt was conclusively shown, so that he could practi-

¹ See Appendix G.

cally adjourn the inquiry for lack of sufficient evidence, and thus shield the honor of the American officers necessarily implicated from the reproach of Europe and America.

An examination of the testimony collected from the eye-witnesses of Landais's behavior, in accordance with the directions of Franklin, shows that the twenty-five charges were drawn up on the 20th of October and signed during the course of the following week by all the chief officers of the squadron. This formidable array of testimony was calculated to remove all possible doubts as to Landais's guilt in the eyes of any unprejudiced judge. Franklin was unprejudiced, and doubtless came immediately to this unavoidable conclusion; but he was not willing to create a scandal which would stain the glory of the most notable victory yet obtained by the American arms in Europe, and his determination to leave the judgment of the case to the proper tribunal in America was entirely justifiable, and a signal instance of his rare wisdom and discretion.

The inquiry thus conducted with the assistance of the two parties most intimately associated with the American embassy was not only informal but private. Four charges were drawn up for Landais to answer. First, that he had acted in disobedience to Jones. Second, that he had fired into the *Bon Homme Richard*. Third, that he had refused to come to Jones's assistance during the engagement. Fourth, that he had not attempted to take the Baltic fleet.

Landais records his replies to these questions in full. In regard to the first, he admitted his obligations to

obey Franklin's orders issued in April at the beginning of the preliminary cruise in the Bay of Biscay, which commanded him to consider Jones as his superior officer; but submitted another letter of direction from Franklin, dated the 28th of July, wherein Franklin, in view of the disablement of the *Bon Homme Richard*, had in fact given Landais full authority to sail alone to the north until the expiration of the entire time allotted for the cruise of Jones's squadron.¹ Landais also produced his copy of the concordat wherein M. de Chaumont had authorized the several officers of the squadron to consider themselves merely as associates of the commander-in-chief. M. de Chaumont was naturally compelled to support Landais in his assumption of independence, and Franklin, faced with a copy of his own orders, could only declare that he did not suppose they justified Landais's claim to entire independence of Jones after he returned from what Franklin characterized as "no real cruise" in French waters, and returned to sail with the rest of Jones's squadron against the coasts of England.

¹ "PASSY, July 28, 1779.

"SIR.

"In case the circumstances of the *Bon Homme Richard* should make a delay of her sailing necessary, of which M. de Chaumont will inform you, I do hereby direct that you proceed to the north seas by such route as you shall judge most proper, and cruise there till the end of September in such parts as are most convenient for intercepting the northern trade to England, after which you are to go into the Texel and there wait further orders.

"With great esteem and great confidence in your abilities and integrity, I have the honor to be, etc.,

"B. FRANKLIN."

(Letter found in the Lee papers, printed by Sparks and preserved in the Harvard Library.)

As set forth in Landais's "Defense," Franklin listened attentively to the latter's full explanation of the various manœuvres of the ships as indicated in the sketch, eliciting from the accused captain the admission that in firing into the head and stern of the interlocked vessels he might "by mistake" have hit the *Bon Homme Richard*; but when Landais asked Franklin if he believed that the American officers would have intentionally fired at their friends, Franklin replied that he thought it not likely. This opinion, all evidence to the contrary, he unquestionably preferred to maintain in his determination at all costs to safeguard the reputation of the American officers.

Writing to Sartine as to the result of the inquiry, Franklin stated that he had referred the charges against Landais to an American court-martial. To the marine committee of Congress he forbore to send any report whatsoever until four months later, when, although quoting Sartine's opinion that the great loss of life among the French marines was caused by Landais's failure to assist the *Bon Homme Richard*, he stated that contradictions appeared in the evidence at hand, and that in the absence of Commander Jones and of all the eye-witnesses of the engagement, the inquiry which he had instituted had been very imperfect. He said that his own ignorance about the manœuvring of ships and their possible operations under all the variety of circumstances that wind, tide, and situation afford, made it impracticable and improper for him to give a judgment in this affair. He concluded his report with the following opinion:

I will only take the liberty of saying in favor of Captain Landais that notwithstanding the mortal quarrel that arose between them at sea, it does not appear to me at all probable that he fired into the *Bon Homme Richard* with design to kill Captain Jones. The inquiry, though imperfect, and the length of it have, however, had a good effect in preventing hitherto a duel between the parties that would have given much scandal, and which I believe will not now take place, as both expect justice from a court-martial in America.

The fact that Franklin confined his statement of his belief in Landais's innocence to the opinion that he did not think he actually intended to kill Captain Jones would indicate that he was by no means convinced that Landais had no intention of sinking the *Bon Homme Richard*.

As the American officers in one paper declared that Landais was innocent and in another affirmed that they had told him that he was firing into the wrong ship, the evidence was, in fact, so "contradictory" that it was no wonder Franklin found it impossible to pass judgment on the matter.

The sketch of the battle, as signed by these officers, is so palpably wrong in some important particulars that it is conceivable that they were ignorant or forgetful as to the actual course of their own vessel, and as to the relative position of the principal combatants in the engagement.¹

¹ The sketch of the course and position of the *Bon Homme Richard* and the *Serapis*, compared with the information given in the official reports of Jones and Pearson, is correct up to the time when the *Serapis*, although tied to the *Richard*, was forced around under the action of the wind until her stern lay to the north. At this point the officers of

The three chief officers of the *Alliance*, who had stated that Landais had been repeatedly warned that he was firing into the wrong ship, changed their minds again under their dissatisfaction with Jones, which had been fomented by Lee, and realizing that their honor was irretrievably involved in the accusation against Landais, wrote to Franklin, in May, with an earnest appeal for Landais's vindication, admitting, as they were compelled to do, that the fire of the *Alliance* had reached the *Bon Homme Richard*, but now, however, shifting the blame from Landais to Jones for having tied the ships together. They asserted that "Landais gave particular orders about firing, showed the different ships which was the *Bon Homme Richard* and which was the *Serapis*, and we perfectly understood and executed his orders. If from the unhappy positions of the ships some of our shot passed into the *Bon Homme Richard* it was not his nor our fault. It was unavoidable and let the blame lie where it is due. Your Excellency will, we hope, pardon this address. We speak feelingly because we think our character is injured, but we trust the time will come when the officers of the *Alliance* will be able to vindicate their honor in the eyes of the world."

the *Alliance* stated that the "enemy was to windward with her head to the north," a position clearly impossible under the known conditions of both wind and tide. In crossing the bow of the *Serapis*, the *Richard* took a position with her head pointing due north, which under the action of the tidal current, which was setting strongly to the north, and of the wind, which was blowing nearly in the same direction, she was forced to retain. The *Serapis*, on the contrary, which was heading due west when the *Richard* crossed her bows, was turned by the action of the wind on her after-sails, swinging finally parallel to the *Richard*, with her stern pointing northward.

Whatever were the motives which moved the erratic and insanely jealous Landais to disable his rival's vessel, no motives are discoverable which could account for such action on the part of the American officers under his command, who, while admitting that some at least of the gunners refused to obey his orders to fire into their consort, never at any time admitted that any of them intended consciously to execute them. Were they, at any moment, deceived by Landais's professed desire to distinguish between the interlocked vessels? Did they, ignorant that Landais had intentionally ordered grape-shot to be used, "because he knew it would scatter," issue orders which they at first supposed would be innocuous to their friends?

In firing the two broadsides at the prow and stern of the interlocked vessels, this supposition might be maintained. No excuse could be offered for the action of the gunners in firing into the disengaged side of the *Richard*, those deadly low-aimed shots, "twixt wind and water and under water," which Jones declared caused the ultimate loss of the ship, unless they believed, through some unaccountable ignorance of the relative positions of the ships, that they were still firing into the prow of the *Serapis*. It was night, as the seamen observed in their testimony, and at the moment when the second broadside was fired the *Alliance*, sailing around the stern of the *Richard*, was just catching the full force of the southwest breeze and might have moved more rapidly at that moment than the gunners were aware of. *The last part of the broadside*, according to Jones's officers, caught the *Richard* in her larboard

quarter. The first part must, therefore, have struck more directly against her stern, as well as the prow of the *Serapis*.

Under the modern regulations of "fire-control," with uninterrupted telephonic communication between the commanding officers on the quarter-deck and those stationed below at the guns, with high-powered telescopic sights constantly directed upon the target, with the almost automatic precision by which "continuous aim" is maintained and communicated to the gunners, such ignorance or mistake would now be absolutely impossible. In the sailing-vessels of the year 1779 a commander on the quarter-deck could issue an order to shift the helm, with the result that the relative position of his vessel and the direction of her fire might be almost instantaneously altered, before any order, even if given simultaneously, for the alteration of their aim could be transmitted to the men below at the guns. The "first part of the broadside" having been discharged against the stern of the *Richard* and the prow of the enemy, Landais by such an order could, and in all probability did, calculate that the remainder of the broadside would take fatal effect upon the helpless and disengaged side of his rival's ship. In spite of the moonlight the two vessels, locked in deadly conflict, were wrapped in the smoke which rose from the continuous broadsides of the *Serapis*, and were not easily distinguishable by the gunners of the *Alliance*, who were also entirely unable to perceive the warning lights which Jones had displayed on the upper deck of the *Richard*. These signals were plainly visible, however,

to the officers on the quarter-deck of the *Alliance*, and they testified that they had warned their captain loudly and repeatedly that he was "firing into the wrong ship." That Landais clearly intended to force upon his gunners the innocent execution of his murderous intention is shown by the fact that he turned so sharply and approached so nearly to the *Richard* that the undischarged guns could by no possibility have been prevented from pouring their deadly fire into her hull. No inadvertence, no mistake, can be assigned to Landais for this action, but it is entirely credible that his chief officers were uninformed of it, and that the gunners, wholly unaware that the *Alliance* had suddenly altered her position, believed that they were directing the last part, as well as the first part, of the broadside against the prow of the *Serapis*. When the *Alliance* turned northward around the stern of the *Richard*, she was so close that, according to Lieutenant Stack, who commanded in the main-top, she was "only three points abaft the *Richard's* beam." Stack himself, raising his voice, called aloud to Landais to stop his firing, when suddenly the *Alliance* sheered off a considerable distance to windward, returning a half-hour later to fire the third and last broadside into the prow of the *Richard*.

From a study of all the evolutions of the *Alliance* it is clear that Landais had shrewdly planned to cover his intention of disabling the *Richard* by firing at the same time into the *Serapis*; but that in the second broadside, when he suddenly realized his opportunity of pouring a part of his shot into the helpless and ex-

posed side of the *Richard*, he had yielded to the temptation to finish the destruction of that ship. The subconscious hatred of Jones, which had been father to the conscious intention of disabling his ship without blame to himself, now mastered his cunning, and action, undisguised and malignant, sprang to the light. That his jealousy of Jones had been active at the first moment of his association with him is shown by his conduct in keeping in the way of the *Richard* when the *Alliance* came into collision with her in the Bay of Biscay. He intended then to put Jones's ship out of commission, and his subsequent action in the engagement with the *Serapis* was entirely consistent with the first.

Applying the same analysis to his later denial of his subconscious desires which caused him to fire into Jones's ship, his assertion of his total innocence to Franklin, as well as that in his written "Defense," is not at all inconsistent with the abnormal constitution of his brain. It is no more remarkable that, still guarding his violent hatred of his successful rival, he should declare that only the abominable character of Jones himself could have invented an accusation of such "black-hearted treachery."

His admission, immediately after the engagement, that he had used grape-shot in firing into the interlocked vessels because he knew it would scatter, and his extraordinary confession that he thought it no harm if the *Richard* should be forced to surrender, as he could then take both her and the *Serapis*, are also typical illustrations of the incomplete control of the conscious

mind over the subconscious desires. His "Defense" abounds in examples of his cunning and cowardice. He expressed contempt for what he called Jones's foolhardiness in rushing "headlong" against the enemy's broadside, and proudly boasts that in choosing his position so as never to be exposed to the fire of his enemy's ships he had done the most damage with the least danger. His statement that Jones had ordered the plugs to be removed which kept the *Richard* from sinking for fear it might be discovered how badly he had fought his ship is an example of his fantastic distortion of facts as is his assertion that the *Serapis* was inferior in force to the *Richard*.

His suspicion and hatred of Franklin, with his insolent attitude toward the venerated and powerful minister who had actually befriended and saved him from arrest, illustrates the habitual insubordination toward his superiors which was the reason for his dismissal from the French navy.

Jones's own opinion in regard to Landais's intention to fire upon the *Richard* is found in his letter to Chaumont, written immediately after his arrival in the Texel:

Captain Landais has told me in Amsterdam that he saw the *Countess of Scarborough* rake the *Bon Homme Richard* early in the engagement and he ought to be ashamed to confess that he lay to windward and permitted this. It is certain that the *Bon Homme Richard* was then raked by a full broadside besides sustaining the whole fire of the *Serapis*. Many people are of the opinion that Captain Landais also about that time

raked the *Bon Homme Richard*. However that was, I verily believe that in firing the two last broadsides upon the *Bon Homme Richard* he did not wish all the shot to miss Captain Jones, and also that the worst shot which the *Bon Homme Richard* received under water came from the *Alliance*. He has since our arrival here told Colonel Weibert and others of my officers that he was in no haste to come to our assistance because there would have been no harm if we had been taken, to give him an opportunity of retaking the *Richard*.

Although he was the object of the signal moderation and benevolence of Franklin, yet gratitude to the all-powerful American minister was not possible to the disorganized brain of Pierre Landais, who remained in Paris in constant communication with Mr. Arthur Lee, who indignantly protested at what he was pleased to consider Franklin's unjustifiable treatment in depriving Landais of the command of the *Alliance*.

The correspondence which took place between Franklin and Landais, subsequent to the inquiry, not only reveals the influence of Lee but furnishes varied information with regard to Franklin's method of dealing with that recalcitrant officer. That Lee should have been willing to intrigue with Landais, whose appointment in the American navy he had originally opposed, at the moment when Landais was under orders to answer for capital charges, shows to what extent his patriotism was subject to the motives of private jealousy and revenge.

On February the 10th Landais wrote to Franklin asking for the return of his effects, which had been left on board the *Alliance*. Franklin replied that he could

have them whenever he chose, and wrote on the 1st of March to Jones that he had found Landais so troublesome that he was determined to have nothing whatever to do with him. On March the 11th Landais, still lingering in Paris, impertinently demanded of Franklin to be reinstated in command of the *Alliance*. To this demand Franklin replied on the following day that he was astonished that after four months' absence from his ship he should now be informed that his officers desired his reinstatement, and presented him with a clear expression of his private opinion of his character.

"No one has learned," he wrote, "the opinion I formed of you upon the inquiry I made into your conduct. I kept it entirely to myself. I have not even hinted it in my letters to America because I would not hazard giving anyone a bias to your prejudice. By communicating a part of that opinion to you I can do no harm, for you may burn it. I should not give you the pain of reading it if your demand did not make it necessary. I think you, then, so imprudent, so litigious and quarrelsome a man even with your best friends that peace and order and consequently the quiet and regular subordination so necessary to success are, where you preside, impossible. These are within my observation and apprehension. Your military operations I leave to your capable judges. If, therefore, I had twenty ships of war at my disposal, I should not give one of them to Captain Landais. The same temper which excluded him from the French marine would weigh equally with me. Of course I shall not replace him on the *Alliance*."

If Landais showed this example of Franklin's exceedingly forcible English to his patron Lee, whom he soon followed to L'Orient, it produced no effect upon Lee except to stir him to greater activity in the pursuance of his now fully matured design of reinstating Landais in his command of the *Alliance*. Reverting to his old argument that direct Congressional orders took precedence of those of Franklin, he informed Landais that, holding his commission from Congress to the command of the *Alliance*, he was subject only to the authority of that body and still legally the captain of the vessel. He further informed the disaffected crew that they had been sailing in ships which were really privateers, that they could expect no share of the prizes taken by Jones's squadron, which had sailed without Congressional authority, unless they returned to America under the command of their original captain. This opinion had become so prevalent among the officers and men of the *Alliance* that when Landais arrived, on the 9th of April, at L'Orient, he found the ground already prepared for open mutiny against the authority of both Jones and Franklin.

After two days of consultation with Lee, and of deliberate and incendiary consultations with the men of the *Alliance*, Landais succeeded in influencing the original officers of that vessel to send to Franklin, on the 12th, an impertinent demand for the reinstatement of their "legal" captain, P. Landais, together with the still more insolent request for an accounting in regard to the prizes which Landais himself was the instrument of losing by sending them, in disobedience of Jones's

orders, to Norway, where they were given up to the British authorities.

Jones had acceded to Franklin's request that he should receive their enemy as a passenger, and Lee himself had formally acknowledged Jones's right to command the *Alliance* in a letter in which he asked for his passage; but in properly refusing to displace the arms and clothing destined for the American soldiers in favor of Lee's travelling carriage and a large quantity of his personal effects, Jones had furnished Lee with a private reason for wishing to displace him in command of that vessel. In this laudable effort he was aided by a certain Commodore Gillon, of North Carolina, a friend and protégé of M. de Chaumont. How these misguided servants of the American cause succeeded in defying Franklin's authority and insulting Paul Jones, to their own ultimate confusion, makes a disgraceful chapter of puerile jealousy and folly.

On the 13th of April Jones himself, quite unaware of the action of his men in requesting the reinstatement of Landais, made his journey to Paris to demand the payment of their wages and prize-money and to expedite the sale of the *Serapis* and *Countess of Scarborough*.

During the six weeks in which Jones, still ignorant that such serious trouble was brewing, was reaping his well-earned honors in Paris, Lee and Landais, aided by Commodore Gillon, had so augmented the dissatisfaction of the crew that they were determined, with or without orders from Franklin, to oust Jones from his command. In open defiance of Franklin's positive re-

fusal to give Landais the ship, Lee now prepared, in his own excellent English, a second demand for his willing tool to send to Franklin, in which Landais enclosed his commission from Congress and asserted that by authority of this direct orders from the American Government he was obligated to retain command of the *Alliance* and to surrender it "at his peril." Two days later, on the 31st of May, a second request from the crew for the reinstatement of their "legal captain," unskillfully prepared by Landais himself, was signed by the officers and sent off to Franklin. Franklin replied to Landais, on the 7th of June, saying that he was astonished that "after the manner of his quitting the ship, after his clear and positive refusal to reinstate him, after his having furnished him with a considerable sum to go to America for a trial, to hear that he was at L'Orient when he thought that he had long since been on his voyage." He declared that the whole affair between them should be laid before his superiors and he charged him not to meddle with the command of the *Alliance* or create any disturbance on board of her, or he would answer the contrary at his peril.

On the same day Franklin replied to both the memorials of the crew in a letter which only he could have penned—a superlative example of his good sense and benevolence. He expressed his surprise that, after the complaints he had received from them a year previous against Landais, and the statement of the latter at that time that they were all joined together against him, they should again wish to sail under him. He said:

I have related exactly to Congress the Manner of his leaving the Ship and tho' I declined any Judgment of his Maneuvres in the fight, I have given it as my Opinion after examining the affair, that it was not at all likely, either that he should have given Orders to fire into the *Bonhomme Richard*, or that his Officers would have obey'd such orders if he had given them. Thus I have taken what Care I could of your Honour in that particular; you will therefore excuse me if I am a little concern'd for it in another. If it should come to be publicly known, that you had the strongest aversion to Capt. Landais, who had used you basely, and that it is only since the last year's Cruize, and the Appointment of Commodore Jones to the Command, that you request to be again under your old Captain, I fear suspicions and Reflexions may be thrown upon you by the World, as if this Change of Sentiment must have arisen from your observation during that Cruize, that Capt. Jones lov'd close fighting, that Capt. Landais was skilful in keeping out of Harm's way, and that therefore you thought yourselves safer with the Latter. For myself, I believe you to be brave Men, and Lovers of your Country and its glorious Cause; and I am persuaded you have only been ill advis'd, and misled by the artful and malicious Misrepresentations of some Persons I guess at. Take in good part this friendly Counsel of an old Man, who is your friend. Go home peaceably with your Ship. Do your Duties faithfully and chearfully. Behave respectfully to your Commander, and I am persuaded he will do the same to you. Thus you will not only be happier in your voyage, but recommend yourselves to the future favours of Congress, and to the Esteem of your Country.

On the 12th Franklin wrote thus to Jones of his reception of the letter of the crew:

Saturday morning I received a letter signed by about 115 of the sailors of the *Alliance*, declaring that they would not raise the anchor nor depart from L'Orient till they had six months' wages paid them and the utmost farthing of the prize money, including the ship sent into Norway, and until *their legal Captain, P. Landais* was restored to them. This mutiny was undoubtedly caused by that Captain, probably by making them believe that satisfaction has been received for those Norway prizes delivered up to the English. That he is concerned in this mutiny he has been foolish enough to furnish us with proofs, the sailors' letter being not only enclosed under a cover directed to me in his handwriting, but he also in the same writing under lined the words "*their legal captain, P. Landais,*" which happens to contain his signature. I immediately went to Versailles to demand the assistance of government, and on showing the letter, by which his guilt plainly appeared, an order was immediately granted and sent away the same evening for apprehending and imprisoning him, and orders were promised to be given at the same time to the Commissary of the Port to afford you all kind of assistance to facilitate your departure, M. de Chaumont being with me and assisting warmly in obtaining these orders. We thought it best at the same time to give directions that those sailors who have signed this letter should not be favored with receiving any part of the money ordered to be advanced, any part of what it is supposed the *Serapis* and *Countess* may be sold for, unless such as express their sorrow for having been so misled and willingness to do their duty, and that they may be known their title was sent down to M. de Montplaisir, but care should be taken that it should be returned as it contains the proofs above mentioned against Landais, who will probably be tried for his life, being considered by the Minister as an emi-

grant without the King's permission and therefore still a Frenchman and when in France still subject to its laws.

He concluded his letter by the following admonition to Jones: "You are likely to have great trouble. I wish you well through it. You have shown your abilities in fighting. You have now an opportunity of showing another necessary part in the character of a great chief, your abilities in policy."

On the very day, the 12th, when Franklin was writing to Jones that he was likely to have great trouble, Jones assembled the crew and officers of the ship, and directed that his commission and orders from Franklin should be read aloud. He was soon after informed that Landais had written a letter to First-Lieutenant Degge, telling him to assume command of the ship, and to hold it until his (Landais's) orders should arrive from Franklin, authorizing him, on the ground of his holding direct orders from Congress, to reassume his command of the vessel. Landais also expressed the opinion in his letter that he "expected Franklin could not refuse them unless he had a special order from Congress." Jones managed to procure a copy of this letter, and going ashore showed it to M. de Thevenard, the commandant of the port. He informed him that Franklin's last orders to him at Paris were to apply to the military authorities at L'Orient, in case of trouble with Landais, and urged that he be arrested at once. Thevenard promised to use his influence with Landais, but advised conciliatory methods. Jones then returned to the *Alliance*, and on the next morning, having again assembled the ship's

company, he asked if any had cause for complaint. Receiving no reply, and observing, as he thought, every indication of good feeling and proper subordination, he went ashore again to see Thevenard, for the purpose of arranging for the immediate despatch of the *Ariel*, which had been loaded with that part of the military stores which had not already been bestowed on the *Alliance*—his one idea being to get to sea without an instant's delay. This was the moment for the plot to be carried out. Lieutenant Degge instantly sent a letter to Landais, enclosing a paper signed by the ship's officers, requesting him to assume command of the ship, and urging him to come instantly on board. Without waiting for Franklin's orders, and in open defiance of his authority, Landais made all haste to obey the welcome summons, and at two in the afternoon arrived on the scene of action. Assembling the officers in the cabin, he showed them his commission from Congress, and asked them to sign a paper acknowledging him as their captain. He then went on deck, ordered all hands to be called, when his commission and orders from Congress to the command of the ship were again read aloud, and on his announcement that he was now reinstated as their captain three cheers were given by the whole of the ship's company.

The carrying out of this mutinous plot was carefully timed to take place during the dinner hour, when Richard Dale and several of the men who had served with Jones on the *Bon Homme Richard* were below. When they came up at the sound of the cheers, they were unceremoniously ordered on shore.

In as short a time as possible the disagreeable news was taken by Dale to Jones, where he was at table with M. de Thevenard and the commandant of the marine, M. de la Grandville. Still obedient to Franklin's commands to leave the discipline of Landais to the French authorities, he now made a formal written application to them to arrest Landais, but obeyed the advice of the two commandants to send by express an account of the affair to Franklin, to request his orders and those of the French court, without which they declined to act. He wrote that he hoped that his conduct in the affair would meet with his Excellency's approbation, and expressed his astonishment at the mutiny, saying that he was certain that "the people love me and would really obey me."

On the next day, too impatient to wait for the reply to his express, and ignorant as yet of the fact that Sartine had already issued orders for Landais's arrest, Jones went post-haste to Paris. On presenting himself at Sartine's office, he failed to gain an audience, but was informed by the secretary, his friend M. Genêt, that these orders had been sent, and was further informed that additional orders authorizing the military authorities to use force, if necessary, to prevent the sailing of the *Alliance*, would also be issued without delay. There was no lack of promptness in Sartine's action in regard to Landais. He had himself dismissed him from the French marine for incurable insubordination, and from the moment of his knowledge of his treacherous conduct in the engagement with the *Serapis* had longed to administer the extremity of punishment

upon the man whom he still considered to be a French subject.

Consultations between Jones and Franklin resulted in the determination to lay the full information in regard to Landais's conduct and the subversion of the American minister's authority before Congress, which, in case Landais should succeed in sailing for America on the *Alliance*, would bring about a proper adjustment of the matter. Jones therefore drew up a memorandum in regard to Landais, in which it was fully set forth that the *Alliance* was the finest ship in the United States navy, had been named the *Alliance* as a compliment to France, and given as a further compliment to Mr. Landais, as a French subject who had come to America as master of a merchant-ship.

At such a distance from the seat of government Franklin realized the difficulties of the situation, and in his emergency appealed to John Adams, then present in Paris, drawing up a paper embodying the several following questions in regard to Landais and his unlawful defiance of the authority of the American minister, and asking Adams's opinion and support:

1. Whether Captain Landais, accused, as he was, of capital crimes by his senior and commanding officer, after having relinquished command of the *Alliance* and voluntarily withdrawn his effects from the same; after having requested and received money from the minister plenipotentiary for the purpose of transporting himself to America and taking his trial there upon the said accusations, and after having applied for his passage in the private ship *Luzerne*, was entitled at his pleasure to re-

take command of the said frigate contrary to the express orders of the minister plenipotentiary, whose orders he had been instructed to obey, and had deposed his successor (the oldest naval officer of the United States in Europe), who had commanded the said frigate eight months and had brought her to the place where she now is.

2. Whether the conduct of Captain Landais at L'Orient in exciting the officers and seamen of the *Alliance* to defy the authority of Captain Jones, under whose command they had come, and in encouraging them to make unlawful demands on the minister plenipotentiary of the United States, and enter into a mutinous combination not to put to sea until the said demands were complied with, thereby retarding the departure of the said frigate, and of the public stores on board the same, be not highly reprehensible.

3. Whether Captain Landais has by such conduct obtained the possession of the *Alliance* frigate, it be consistent with prudence, good order and the public services to permit him to retain command of her and of the public stores intended to be sent with her, accused as he moreover is of capital crimes by his late commodore and for which if he arrives in America he must of course be tried.

This paper was presented on the 17th of June, but in spite of its urgent character John Adams did not send a reply until the 26th.

PARIS, 26 June, 1780.

I have read over all the papers in the bundle left with me, numbered to thirty-seven. I have also read the three queries stated to me. These queries I apprehend can legally be answered only by congress, or a court-martial; and, therefore, it would be improper in

me to give any answer to them, because the papers will appear before congress or a court-martial, who can judge of them better than I. They will also hear Captain Landais in his defence, which I cannot do. My opinion, therefore, would have no weight either before the one or the other tribunal; or, supposing it to be admitted to be read, and to have any weight, it ought not to be given, because I cannot be legally either a witness or a judge.

I cannot, however, think that the instructions of the navy board to Captain Landais to obey the orders of the minister plenipotentiary, contain authority to remove him, without his consent, from the command of a ship committed to him by congress, because the navy board themselves had not, as I apprehend, such authority.

Since those instructions were given, as I was informed at Boston, congress has given to the navy board power, upon any misbehavior of an officer, to suspend him, stating to congress at the same time a regular charge against him. But I do not find among these papers such authority given to any body in Europe, nor do I find that any regular charge against Captain Landais has been stated to congress.

There has seldom, if ever, been in France a sufficient number of officers at a time to constitute a court-martial, and our code of admiralty laws is so inadequate to the government of frigates for any length of time in Europe, that it is presumed congress will in future either omit to put frigates under any direction in Europe, or make some additions to the laws of the admiralty adapted to such cases. For there is an end to all order, discipline, and decency, when disputes arise, and there is no tribunal to decide them, and when crimes are committed, or alleged, and there is no authority to try or to punish them.

I have not observed among these papers any clear evidence of Captain Landais's consent to leave the command of the ship; and, therefore, upon the whole, rather than bring the present dispute about the *Alliance* to any critical and dangerous decision here, where the law is so much at loose, and there can be no legal tribunal to decide, I should think your Excellency would be most likely to be justified in pursuing the mildest measures, by transmitting all the papers and evidence to congress, or the navy board, for a trial by court-martial, and ordering the commanding officer of the *Alliance*, with the stores and convoy, as soon as possible to America.

I give this opinion to your Excellency, to make what use of it you think proper.

JOHN ADAMS.

What can the present commentator assume as to the motives which actuated this extraordinary opinion of John Adams upon the audacious subversion of his colleague's authority? First and principally, that he was in perfect sympathy with Arthur Lee, and, secondly, that that sympathy was actuated by a jealousy, concealed at that time from its object, of Franklin himself. A statement that he found no document proving that Landais had consented to abandon the command of the *Alliance* was disingenuous in spirit, although possibly accurate as to fact. Landais's request to Franklin for money to pay for his passage to America may not have been made in writing, and may not therefore have been included among the thirty-seven papers sent with the questions for Adams's perusal. Landais's request for the return of his effects had been formally

made in writing, but the significance of the second request, as well as Franklin's testimony regarding the first, Adams saw fit to ignore.

The reference in the third paragraph to the navy board's instructions to Captain Landais to obey the orders of the minister plenipotentiary admits clearly that such instructions had been given and were in force; and his contention that they did not authorize Franklin to remove him from his command because the navy board itself was not empowered to do so deliberately evaded the patent fact that Landais, in his avowed determination to sail to America against the orders of Franklin, was going contrary not only to Franklin's orders but to those of the navy board.

The most significant paragraph in Adams's opinion is that in which he refers to Landais, then in possession of the *Alliance*, as its "commanding officer," for in so designating him he clearly supported both Landais and Lee in their defiance of Franklin.¹

¹ An extraordinary example of the intense personal animosities which characterized the politics of the Revolutionary period, and of Adams's particular jealousy of his great contemporaries, is found in a letter among a collection of manuscripts in Philadelphia from Adams to Doctor Rush, in which he says that certain great reputations had been built up by the aid of puffers, an aid which he, Adams, had always disdained to employ. He concludes his remarks in this connection with the incomplete phrase, "If Washington and Franklin—" indicating plainly his opinion as to the source and value of those reputations.

Another extract from the same correspondence shows still more strikingly the degree of personal animosity which Adams cherished against Alexander Hamilton: "This caitiff too came to a bad end. Fifteen years of continual slanders against Burr provoked a call to the Field of Honor as they call it, and send him pardoned I hope in his last moments to his long home by a Pistol Bullet through his spine."—(Adams to Doctor Rush, June 13th, 1807. "Old Family Letters," copied from the originals for Alexander Biddle. Press of J. B. Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia, 1892.)

It is impossible to find arguments to defend Adams's action in thus frustrating the orders of Franklin and the marine committee, who had given him control of naval affairs in Europe; for, as one of the original members of the marine committee, he was perfectly aware that Congress had intrusted that committee with the conduct of naval affairs, and intended that its orders should be carried out. In his recognition of Landais as the commander of the *Alliance* he was further culpable, because he had a very full personal knowledge of Landais's character, and had, in fact, put his opinion on record. On the very first voyage of the *Alliance* under Landais's command a dangerous mutiny had arisen among the English prisoners, who had unwisely been enrolled among her crew, which had imminently threatened the life of the officers and passengers, including Lafayette, who was returning to Europe. Grave dissatisfaction as to Landais's conduct had been felt and expressed by the officers in a letter to Franklin, and the utmost insubordination prevailed on board the vessel on its arrival at L'Orient, which Adams himself, who happened to be present at that port in the spring of 1779, was instrumental in subduing.

On various occasions while at L'Orient, Adams dined in company with Landais and Jones, and has recorded in his diary his impression of Landais's peculiar character and appearance. He wrote that "Landais was unfit for any command and had no dexterity in managing men.—Landais is jealous of everybody, of his officers and passengers—an absent, bewildered man, an embarrassed mind."

In another entry he examines the causes of Landais's peculiar disposition and his habit of suspicion, speculating as to whether it was due to his imperfect knowledge of English or to his absence of mind when poring over his disappointments. He said that he had heard that the balance of Landais's mind had been early overthrown by a disappointment in love, and wrote a characteristic impression of Landais's manners and appearance. "This man thinks himself handsome; yet he has a littleness in his mien and air. His face is small and sharp so that you form a mean opinion of him; yet his eye is good."

At the time when Franklin appealed to him for a confirmatory opinion as to Landais's culpability in taking command of the *Alliance*, he was present in Paris on a mission which was destined to result in considerable mortification to himself. At the suggestion made by Vergennes, as early as 1779, that a commissioner should be sent by Congress to treat for peace in case England should be inclined to consider it, Adams had been chosen by Congress and originally empowered as the sole agent of the American Government for that purpose. He found that the time had not arrived to conduct these negotiations, but had already shown the unwise disposition to issue orders to the French court in the manner which later constrained the Comte de Vergennes to refuse to consult with him on any subject whatsoever. He felt that he had reason to be dissatisfied with Franklin, who failed to support his exceedingly undiplomatic attitude toward the French minister, and already harbored those feelings of resentment which he later ex-

pressed in terms of unrestrained bitterness, asserting that Franklin had conspired with Vergennes to disgrace him in the eyes of Europe.

As to Lee's attitude, recalled ignominiously after his vain efforts to displace Franklin in France, and on the eve of quitting Europe, no further explanation is required to account for it.

During the ten days which Adams permitted to elapse before he replied to Franklin's question, the latter waited in vain for the assistance which he had every right to expect from his colleague.

During these same ten days the preparations for the departure of the *Alliance* approached completion. The cashiered French officer and murderous madman, who had openly confessed his treacherous design to sink the *Bon Homme Richard*, had found strange protectors in the persons of two accredited American ministers; and America's chief diplomatist, whom Lee himself, in his earlier association, loved to style "Pater Patriæ," and Paul Jones, whose splendid accomplishments had irradiated all Europe, were openly defied and defeated through the most contemptible of motives by means of a quibbling misinterpretation of the manifest will of Congress. The net result of Franklin's refusal to pass judgment on the accusation that Landais had fired into the *Bon Homme Richard*, and of Adams's recommendations that he should be treated with the greatest leniency, was that Landais was never tried, either in France or America, for the charges made against him in consequence of his conduct in the engagement with the *Serapis*.

Franklin's feelings in regard to Lee's support of the dangerous lunatic who had insulted his authority and person during a space of six months can easily be imagined, as well as his deep sense of injustice at Adams's truly remarkable support of both Landais and Lee. At the news of their plot to make off with the *Alliance*, he no longer attempted to protect Landais from Sartine's "concise operations," and gave his consent not only to the despatch of a *lettre de cachet* to the military authorities at L'Orient for the arrest of the culprit, but also concurred in Sartine's orders to stop the *Alliance* by forcible measures.

To Landais himself he wrote, ordering him instantly to quit the *Alliance*, but received no word in reply. A coolly impertinent letter in Arthur Lee's style crossed his on the way, announcing that Landais had retaken the ship.

On the 20th Jones was back in L'Orient after his journey to Paris, having been absent only six days. He found that the *Alliance* had been warped and towed out of the inner roads of Groix into the narrow strait, which was commanded by the guns of Port Louis, where she had been effectually stopped by a barrier which Thevenard had caused to be drawn over the channel to prevent her departure. Further directions had also been issued by the commandant for the French soldiers at the fort to sink the ship if she attempted to pass out.

This was the crisis which confronted Jones upon his return to L'Orient, and this his opportunity for revenge upon his enemies. Thevenard, in active sym-

pathy with him, was quite prepared to anticipate the orders of the minister, to prevent by force the sailing of the ship, which he was assured were on their way, and only awaited Jones's signal to fire upon the *Alliance*. It was not in Jones's nature to take advantage of such an opportunity, and in the following letter to Franklin he describes the occurrence and explains the motives of his action:

L'ORIENT *June 21st 1780.*

SIR

I was detained at Versailles forty hours from the time of my arrival and was there informed by M. de Genet that an express had been sent from Court with the necessary orders to the Kings Officers at L'Orient respecting Captain Landais and the *Alliance*.—I found myself here early yesterday morning fifty-four hours after leaving Versailles.—The *Alliance* had the evening and Night before been warped and towed from the Road of L'Orient to Port Louis and no express from Court had arrived here. M. de Thevenard the Commandant however made every necessary preparation to stop the *Alliance* as appears by the enclosed document on the Subject. He had even sent his Orders in the evening before I was aware to fire on the *Alliance* and Sink her to the Bottom if they attempted to approach and pass the Barrier that had been made across the entrance of the Port. Had I even remained silent an hour longer the dreadful work would have been done.—Your Humanity will I know Justify the part I acted in preventing a Scene that would have rendered me miserable for the rest of my Life. The *Alliance* has this morning been towed and warped through the Rocks and is now at Anchor without between Port Louis and Groa.—In this situation I at Noon sent out Lieutenant

Dale with a letter to Captain Landais whereof the within is a Copy.—When Lieutenant Dale returns I will render you an account of the event.

Jones's leniency in refusing to permit the French soldiers to fire into the *Alliance* was approved in a document signed by their officers, in which the dispositions for the attack were detailed.

"These orders," they stated, "seemed to us of such a nature as to occasion the certain destruction of the vessel. These considerations, of the utmost importance in view of the consequences which such a result might entail between the two allied nations, the destruction of the men, the loss of a fine frigate belonging to the United States, influenced Mr. Jones, who has a perfect knowledge of these dispositions, to sacrifice his rights. He has therefore prayed us to use no means of violence to occasion the above misfortune."

A copy of this document was enclosed in Jones's letter to Franklin, which also related that the King's *lettre de cachet* had been presented to Landais by an officer of M. de Thevenard, but that Landais had refused to surrender himself.

Jones submitted another document, a copy of an earnest appeal he had sent to Captain Parke, of the marines, to abandon his support of Landais, and concluded his letter with the statement that Lee and his party pretend to justify their behavior "because you did not put Landais under arrest." "If the government does not interfere," Jones declared, at the moment when he himself had prevented the effectual interference

planned by Sartine, "France and America have reason to fear from it."

With a full recognition of Jones's humanity in refusing to permit the destruction of an American vessel and to send his enemies to the bottom of the sea, it is less easy to praise the motives which dictated his orders to remove the barrier which would have effectually prevented the sailing of the *Alliance*, and the consummation of the disgraceful mutiny against his own and Franklin's authority. He loathed Lee, whom he believed at this time to be an English sympathizer and traitor to America, and as for Landais he believed him to be mad and knew that he was thirsting for his life, and was willing enough to be rid of his insane and murderous enemy.

All subsequent efforts to prevent the sailing of the *Alliance* were naturally futile, as the ship was now in the outer roads and out of harm's way.

On the day after his return he vainly demanded of Landais to liberate his loyal men of the *Bon Homme Richard*, and on the 23d he wrote very calmly to Franklin, asking again for the loan of the *Serapis*, which had been duly sold for a ridiculously small sum on the 22d. The promptness of this demand shows that it must have been long in contemplation, and that he was by no means unwilling to exchange this vessel for the *Alliance*.

On the 26th the men of the *Bon Homme Richard* who had been put into captivity in the hold of the *Alliance* for disobedience to Landais's orders wrote pathetically to Franklin expressing their unaltered loyalty to Jones, and asking to be delivered from their bondage.

On the same day Jones's sympathizing friends at L'Orient, including Jonathan Williams and Wharton, memorialized Franklin in regard to their indignation at the unholy proceedings which had taken place at L'Orient. Jonathan Williams openly expressed his abhorrence of Lee's agency, in the plot to steal the *Alliance*, in such terms that he was challenged by Lee's nephew, Ludwell Lee; facing the latter's bullet at extremely close quarters and disdaining to return the fire of his opponent.¹

All this indignation, however, was like a pot boiling over, and Jones's demand for forcible measures to stop the *Alliance*, which he made both to Franklin and the French military authorities at L'Orient, was barren of result. His friend, the commandant of the port, now refused to use measures to stop the ship, and further

¹ "PASSY, 24 June, 1780.

"M. Leray de Chaumont to the Count of Vergennes.

"I have the honor, Sir, to send you an account of an occurrence which took place at L'Orient. It might well have been more disastrous. The English must think very well of Mr. Lee.

"The 19th of this month Dr. Franklin's nephew, Mr. Williams, being present at L'Orient to oversee the embarking of the clothing for the armies of Congress, was visited by Mr. Lee, the nephew of Mr. Lee the Commissioner of Congress to France, who, accompanied by two witnesses and as many pistols, demanded that Mr. Williams should retract the statements he had made in regard to the uncle of said Mr. Lee. These statements in which Williams had publicly reviled the conduct of his uncle in his approval and support of the captain and the crew of the *Alliance* had been made in the presence of the said Mr. Lee. Williams refused to give the written retraction which had been demanded of him, and Mr. Lee then fired his pistol at Williams and missed, the ball entering the wall an inch away from Mr. Williams' shoulder, who demanded of the witnesses to declare whether he had moved his body in the smallest degree. The company assembled replied that he had borne himself with the most perfect intrepidity. Mr. Williams then opened the window, discharged his pistol into the courtyard and informed Mr. Lee that he disdained to fire at him."

aroused Jones's indignation by granting various favors to Lee and to Gillon.

Jones's own indignation now reached its climax, and on the 27th of June he gave vent to his feelings in a letter to his friend Doctor Bancroft, indulging in some very indiscreet criticisms of both Bancroft and Franklin.

He expressed, rather tardily, his bitter regret that he had followed the advice of Thevenard, instead of obeying his own judgment, and relieved his feelings in general accusations against everybody concerned. "If Franklin sits still in the matter, I shall pronounce him and you also philosophers indeed. I am no philosopher, and am stung to the soul that my honest efforts are not supported." In a letter of the same date to Robert Morris he expressed his real feelings in regard to Franklin. He stated plainly that Mr. Lee was responsible for the defeat of his intention to bring the whole amount of the military stores to America, and declared that he was convinced that Lee had acted in this manner "merely because I would not become the enemy of the venerable, and wise, and good Franklin, whose heart as well as head does and always will do honor to human nature, and I can add from the testimony of the chief characters of all ranks at Versailles, and all over this kingdom, as well as all over Spain and Holland, that envy itself is dumb when the name of Franklin is but mentioned."

It is not surprising that Franklin and Jones, as the two chief victims of the indignity which had been offered to their persons in authority, should have indulged in the *tu quoque* form of comment upon the occasion. The feelings of both had necessarily been subject to many changes during the long series of untoward events which

had resulted from the unwise appointment of the cashiered French officer to his important command in the colonial navy, and both had regarded Landais in varying moods and tenses. Jones's leniency in not putting Landais under arrest immediately after the battle with the *Serapis*, when he had been empowered to do so by both Sartine and Franklin, was most ill-timed and unfortunate; as it was in not stopping the sailing of the *Alliance* when he had the full force of the French military authorities on hand to assist him. The reasons for Jones's leniency are less apparent than the motives which actuated Franklin, when to avoid implicating Landais's American officers he protected Landais himself from the "concise operations" which Sartine was prepared to administer to the culprit. Franklin now was in no mood to be blamed for undue "philosophy" in the matter, and wrote to Dumas that he was far less involved in the Landais-Jones controversy than his correspondent imagined; saying that Jones himself was responsible for the loss of his ship by staying too long in Paris. When Doctor Bancroft, who had been bracketed with Franklin in Jones's remarks, showed Jones's letter to Franklin, the sage penned on the 5th of July the following sharp reprimand to Jones:

PARIS, 5 July, 1780.

DEAR SIR:—I received yours of June 21st, with the papers it enclosed from M. Genet, who had kept them a day or two to translate them for the minister. I approve much of your humanity and prudence, but am sorry that in the letter to Dr. Bancroft you complain of your friends, who are in no fault. They spare you, and have not even hinted that if you had stayed on board

where your duty lay, instead of coming to Paris, you would not have lost your ship. Now you blame them as having deserted you in recovering her. Though relinquishing to prevent mischief was a voluntary act of your own, for which you have credit, hereafter, if you should observe an occasion, to give your officers and friends a little more praise than is their due, and confess more fault than you can justly be charged with, you will only become the sooner for it, a great captain. Criticizing and censuring almost every one you have to do with, will diminish friends, increase enemies, and thereby hurt your affairs.

I continue as ever, dear sir, etc.

B. FRANKLIN.

Franklin, slow to anger, was slow to forget, when his usually serene temper was aroused. He was deeply incensed and mortified at the bold and unwarranted subversion of his authority and worn out by the endless annoyances of the complicated affair. Although he afterward wrote kindly to Jones, the expressions of warm admiration of his conduct and bravery were hereafter wanting in his letters to America.

Jones, on his part, very much regretted his indiscreet criticism of his revered friend, very gracefully accepted his reproof, and wrote in reply to Franklin's letter that it had given him more pleasure than any he had ever had the honor to receive from him because it afforded him the strongest proof of his affection. He wrote that he regretted that his letter to Doctor Bancroft had given him offence, that it was a private letter, and that it was the only one he had ever written mentioning his name that he would not freely submit to his perusal.

Writing at this time also to his friend Genêt, Jones urged in strongest terms that Franklin himself should come to L'Orient, declaring that should he do so the misguided crew of the *Alliance* would promptly be brought to a realization of their situation.

The following very well constructed letter presents the reasons volunteered by Lee, at the moment of the successful execution of his plot, in justification of his action in bringing about the reinstatement of Landais:

L'ORIENT, *June* 13, 1780.

CAPTAIN J. P. JONES

Sir:

When you shewed me yesterday the authorities under which you conceived you had a right to command the *Alliance* frigate, I told you it was not in my power to give you an opinion upon them without seeing those of Captain Landais; and that I would not give an opinion in this matter, but in writing. Since that I have seen the authorities of Captain Landais, and I now shall state them both, with my opinion upon them; which I hope may be of use in preventing any farther contest, which cannot but be disgraceful and injurious to the service, as well as to those who are in the wrong.

The authorities you shewed me, consist of a commission from Congress appointing you a captain in the marine of the United States and a late order from Dr. Franklin to you to take command of the *Alliance* and carry her where she is ordered by the admiralty. This order from Dr. Franklin does not recite or allege any power from Congress to take the command from Captain Landais and put another in his place.

The authorities Captain Landais laid before me, were a commission from Congress, like yours, appointing him

captain in the service;—a resolve of Congress giving him the command of the *Alliance* frigate; and a letter of instructions for that purpose from the marine committee.

From these documents it is clear beyond a possibility of doubt, that Captain Landais commands that ship under the full, direct, and express order of congress; and that no such authority appears to dismiss him from the command. In this situation, Captain Landais must answer at his peril for the frigate entrusted to him till he receives an order of congress to deliver up to another. If any such order exists, those who have it do infinite wrong to the service in not producing it, to prevent any disturbance. If there is no such order, the subjects of the United States who attempt to divest Captain Landais of the command he holds from the sovereign power or to disturb him by violence in the exercise of it, commit a high crime against the laws and sovereignty of the United States and subject themselves to a proportionable punishment.

This, Sir, is my opinion, founded upon a cool and candid consideration of the authorities on both sides; which alone ought to determine our judgment and our actions.

You are at liberty to shew this letter to whom you please, or to send it to Dr. Franklin. Should it prevail upon you to urge this matter no farther till you know whether there is authority of congress for what you are doing, I shall think I have rendered no less service to you personally, in preventing you from committing a rash and illegal action, than to the public, the honor of which must be committed by such a contest in a foreign port. When I see such things threatened, my duty to my country, and the love of law and order, call upon me to do whatever is in my power to prevent them.

I have the honor to be, etc.

ARTHUR LEE.

If there was any color of truth in Lee's contentions, none knew better than he that the commissioner's office at Passy was the recipient of constant orders from the marine committee of Congress, and that it was the actual will of that body that Franklin should have entire control of naval affairs in Europe.

Franklin's opinion of his implacable enemy is worth quoting in this connection: "I am persuaded, however, that he (Lee) means well to his country, is always an honest man, often a wise one, but sometimes and in some things absolutely out of his senses. In sowing jealousies and suspicions, in creating quarrels and misunderstandings among friends, in malice, subtlety and indefatigable industry, he has, I think, no equal."

The length of time which had passed since the *Alliance* had been suffered to pass out into the open roads of Groix led Jones to hope that something might yet be done to change the temper of the crew; and believing that Landais could not induce them to sail until their wages were paid, he sent on board a batch of papers, including his orders from Franklin for the command of the ship and orders to Landais to relinquish it, which he enclosed in a personal appeal to the officers, assuring them that the prize-money accruing from the late sale of the *Serapis* was now waiting in the King's coffers.

Lee, still ascendant, thought only of his private revenge and his determination to get across the ocean with his baggage, and advised Landais on no account to wait for the money. Jones's papers were sent back to him unopened, and his request for the return of the men of the *Bon Homme Richard* refused with contempt.

Landais condescended to send a few men whom he wished to be rid of, as well as Jones's private effects, which reached shore broken open and in a disgraceful condition.

A letter from Franklin addressed to the "commanding officer for the time being of the frigate *Alliance*" and delivered by Captain Bell of the *Luzerne* contained an order for Landais to ship the clothing for the American armies. This letter, with supreme insolence, Landais also refused to receive.

As to the forty-six cases of guns and the hundred boxes of powder which had already been placed in the *Alliance* by Jones, they had been for the most part unshipped in favor of Lee's travelling carriage and effects, which Landais, in a letter to Lee, had privately announced his willingness to transport.

On the 8th of July, after six weeks of delay, the *Alliance* sailed, with the loyal men of the *Bon Homme Richard*, who had refused to obey Landais's orders to get the ship under way, confined in the hold in irons.

Morris's ship, the *Luzerne*, and the other American vessels which were waiting for a convoy, also sailed with the *Alliance*, which carried as passengers, besides Lee, his nephew and brother, Matthew Livingston, and two French officers, Majors La Colombe and Pontgibaud.

Jones was now left alone with the little *Ariel*, with only forty-five men of the *Bon Homme Richard* to make up her crew; but, as if to compensate him for the loss of the *Alliance*, the gold-hilted sword which had been ordered by Louis XVI now made its most opportune appearance, accompanied by a very flattering letter from

M. de Sartine making the official tender of the gift. To open the flowing and sonorous phrases of the following letter, in which he acknowledged the gift of the King, was doubtless a far more congenial task to Jones than to quarrel with Landais and his crew:

L'ORIENT *July 10, 1780.*

MY LORD,

I have felt, and shall always feel the strongest obligations to his Majesty in common with my Fellow Citizens of the United States; for truly his Majesty well deserves from them and me, that Sublimest of Titles, "The Protector of the Rights of Human Nature." My desire, My Lord, has been and will ever continue to be the most Ardent for the Glory of France and the United States; but I deeply lament that I have hitherto had so little Opportunity of rendering essential service to them.—My heart overflows with the most lively sentiments of Gratitude for the singular Honors conferred on me by the best of Kings, as expressed in the noble letter that your Excellency has done me the Honor to write me from Versailles the 28th Ult.—Words My Lord, would do Injustice to the deep Sense I entertain of these illustrious Marks of his Majesties approbation of my poor services; but permit me to assure your Lordship it shall be the Ambition of my Life to prove myself deserving these high Honors, and the Continuance of His Majesties favor.

With such a mark of honor from the sovereign of France it was not surprising that Jones should have believed that his request for the loan of the *Serapis* could easily be granted. By some irregularity of the post, Jones's letter reporting that the *Alliance* had sailed

failed to reach Franklin, although that of a later date, in which he requested the loan of the *Serapis*, had come safely to hand.

The following discouraging reply from Franklin showed distinct dissatisfaction that Jones had permitted the *Alliance* to get off in spite of all the means with which he had been empowered to prevent it, and gave evidence that even Franklin's philosophy and patience could be exhausted.

"I only know by other means," he wrote on the 27th, "that the *Alliance* has gone out of the port and that you are not likely to recover and have relinquished the command of it, and the business now is to get the goods out as well as we can.

"I am perfectly bewildered with the different schemes that have been proposed to me for this purpose by Mr. Williams, Mr. Ross, yourself, and M. de Chaumont. Mr. Williams was for purchasing ships. I told him I had no money, but he still urges it. You and Mr. Ross propose borrowing the *Ariel*. I joined in the application for that ship. We obtained her. Now you find her insufficient. I think therefore that it will be best that you take as much into the *Ariel* as you can and depart with her. For the rest, I must apply to the government for some means of transportation in their own ships. This is my present opinion and when I have once got rid of this business no consideration shall tempt me to meddle again in such matters."

He had already written to Congress recommending the appointment of consuls to attend to the business of refitting and supplies, with which he had been so heavily

overburdened, and to his nephew Jonathan Williams that he had been "too long in hot water, plagued to death with the passions, vagaries, and ill-humour and madneses of other people, and must have a little repose."

CHAPTER XVIII

THE LANDAIS COURT-MARTIAL

THE story of how the *Alliance* got to America reads like a farce. Everything, and more, which might have been imagined as most likely to happen occurred to fulfil Franklin's apprehensions of trouble and to convince Lee that he had committed the gravest error of his life.

Before the ship got out of the harbor Captain Parke, of the marines, was put under arrest. A few days later Lieutenant Degge was also in active personal conflict with Landais. Dissensions of all sorts arose daily between the irascible and vacillating commander, his officers, and passengers.

In the middle of the voyage, with sails bent to a full breeze, Landais suddenly ordered them down and the vessel steered out of her course to America. Whereupon the officers declared that they would refuse to defend themselves against any enemy if the course was not set again for home.

Off the Banks of Newfoundland the hungry crew were forbidden to fish, and on another occasion violent quarrels arose as to the killing and ownership of the officers' live-stock provided for food. Mr. Lee himself, rashly reaching into the platter for a first helping of choice morsels, found his life threatened by the furious Landais, who, brandishing the carving-knife, asserted his right as

captain of the ship to said morsels. The language reported to have been used by both Parke and Degge to the man who, they had insisted, was "their legally appointed captain" is not printable, but at last language gave place to action, and on the 10th of August both officers and passengers demanded of Landais in writing that the ship should be given to Lieutenant Degge and taken without delay to Boston. In the midst of an open mutiny of the crew, when the sails were being alternately hauled up and down under the conflicting orders of Landais and the passengers, Landais gave up the fight and retired to his cabin, where he kept his bed for a week.

Degge, in command, at last arrived off Nantasket on August the 16th, and on the 19th Landais, in the harbor of Boston, by letters which at last plainly revealed his insanity, announced his arrival to the navy board:

GENTLEMEN:

I have the honor to acquaint you of our arrival here after a passage of thirty-nine days from Groay's Island off Port L'Orient. We went out with four American vessels, a logger which went back to Europe, a brig which left us on the 11th, the ship *Luzerne*, Captain Bell, and a schooner of Virginia. These two I lose sight of, being in chase of a 28 gun frigate which I could not come up with.

Here is on board some 18 and 8 pounders, some box of small arms and some powder, all which I don't know who they are belong to.

We were bound to Philadelphia according to the honorable congress order (a letter from Mr. Brown, Secretary of the Navy Board) but two revolts of the crew

have prevented. The first on the 5th inst. in which I was not supported, the crew in appearance got masters of the ship. The second on the 11th. In this one the officers and passengers have had hand in it.

You see, gentlemen, by the above proceedings, it is to be suspected great many are concerned in this revolt. All the guilties in the first revolt by fear that the occasion of it would be better searched into in Philadelphia than it will be in Boston.

I was taken ill on the 11th. All has been done since that day was without even advising me of it. All the officers have refused to receive my written orders. Some said they received Mr. Degge's one who is Lieutenant chosen on the purpose.

You will find Great many incorrectedness in my Style and Spell through this letter which I hope you will excuse when you consider I cannot even trust my clerk who weep and cry, saying it make him great many enemies to do any things for to prevent mine in this case to succeed in their plan.

Never before was such things seen or heard of and I conjecture the first step when on shore will be altogether to give me a bad character. *Before God!* Bring to light the truth. Till then I leave it to your sagacity.

Mr. Degge ordered to obey but to him. Then I was surrounded by all the passengers. You will find them out but there are very cunning ones among them.

On receipt of this letter orders were sent by the navy board for Landais to relinquish the ship to Barry and to proceed at once to their office in Boston. Like an animal at bay, the helpless and furious Landais now defied Captain Parke, who brought the order of the navy board to give up the ship, as well as the officers sent later to demand his departure. At length, making forcible entrance into the cabin, three sergeants over-

powered him and dragged him, still screaming his protests, on shore.

In Boston, deserted by Lee and utterly without friends or money, the wretched man took refuge in the office of the navy board, asking vainly for permission to sleep on the floor among the papers.

On the 10th of November the navy board, of the eastern department, issued orders for a court-martial to be held by John Barry, now in command of the *Alliance*, to try Landais.

Captains Hoysted Hacker, S. Nicholson, and Henry Johnson, Lieutenants Silas Devot, Patrick Fletcher, and Nicholas Gardiner, together with Samuel Pritchard, lieutenant of marines, were appointed to serve.

The court-martial assembled on board the *Alliance*, in Boston harbor, on the 20th of November, 1780, and continued because of several adjournments until the 6th day of January, 1781. The testimony of the officers, as evidenced by the length of time consumed in the proceedings of the court, was full and detailed. Captain Parke's testimony, oral and written, comprised his knowledge of the case beginning with Landais's arrival at L'Orient until the close of the voyage, and contained frank statements of his original adoption of Landais's course and his final violent opposition to him. Mr. Arthur Lee also testified that in his opinion Landais was insane.

The principal points on which Landais was tried related to the questions as to whether he had disobeyed the orders of the navy board in coming away with the *Alliance*, and whether he had connived at the improper displacement of the military stores in favor of the pri-

vate effects of his passengers. Copies of the navy board's orders to Landais of December the 18th, 1778, in which he was clearly directed to obey the commands of Franklin, and of Arthur Lee's letters to Landais, informing him that he was not bound to follow these orders, were put in evidence. As to the transportation of Lee's private effects, evidence was given by Mr. Blodgett, the purser of the *Alliance*, who, while incriminating himself in his admission of conversations with Landais in regard to this point, reported that Landais, on being informed of the fact that Lee's carriage and effects were on board, declared that he did not wish to hear anything about it.

The testimony in regard to the difficulties and quarrels which arose during the passage between Landais and the whole ship's company was of so overwhelming a nature as to leave no doubt as to his incapacity to command any vessel.

The board of admiralty, which had been directed by Congress on October 25 to investigate the reasons for the detention of the military stores, transmitted to the navy board at Boston, as testimony to be used against Landais, a letter from Franklin containing a statement from Captain Bell, of the *Luzerne*, that Franklin's order to Landais for the embarking of the stores had been returned unopened to that officer. John Barry, as president of the court, conducted the case with remarkable ability and a spice of Irish humor, as shown by his written summing up of the evidence, which, in its original form, is preserved among the Continental Congress papers in Washington.¹

¹ Appendix H.

The qualities of good sense, moderation, and acumen which are therein displayed furnish an exceedingly interesting exposition of the character of the man whom Washington was pleased to put at the head of the reorganized navy.

Barry's decision in regard to the first point in question, as to whether Landais had disobeyed the orders of the navy board, was clear and convincing, and in very strong contrast to the deliberately disingenuous opinions of Lee and Adams. He quoted the orders of the navy board of December 18, 1778, in which Landais was commanded to obey Doctor Franklin, explaining that it was not before the court as to whether Doctor Franklin took the *Alliance* away from Landais without a court-martial, but whether Landais in coming away without permission had disobeyed the orders of the navy board, and, "I think, gentlemen," said Barry, "that the Captain came away as aforesaid."

The unanimous findings of the court were that:

Firstly, Landais was guilty of a breach of the orders of Congress and of the orders of the navy board, eastern department, in coming away with the ship *Alliance* from France without the permission of Doctor Franklin, but that said Pierre Landais, in coming away without leave as aforesaid, took the advice of the honorable Arthur Lee, which advice and the motives that urged him appeared by copies of certain letters from the said Arthur Lee, Esq.

Secondly, Pierre Landais was guilty of a further breach of the orders of Congress and of the said navy board in suffering certain private goods to be brought

in said ship from France, and by that means creating an interest on board of said ship repugnant to the public service.

Thirdly, that said Pierre Landais is guilty of a breach of the first and thirty-seventh articles in the rules for the regulation of the navy of the United States in not exerting his utmost abilities to inspect the behavior of the passengers, of his officers and crew, and in not setting an example to his officers in discharging their duties.

With recommendations to mercy in view of the existence of actual mutiny on board, and in regard to Landais's refusal to leave the ship, because that refusal was due to his having no comfortable resort except in said ship, the court declared the said Pierre Landais broken and incapable of serving in the American navy for the future.

Many weeks before the long-drawn-out trial reached its conclusion Franklin and Jones, in Europe, had been advised of the revolt on board the *Alliance* by the following report contained in a letter from Doctor Samuel Cooper to Franklin:

BOSTON *Sept. 8th*, 1780.

The *Alliance* arrived here some weeks ago with Dr. Lee, who is still in Town. This Vessel appears to me to have left France in an unjustifiable Manner, tho' I cannot yet obtain the particular Circumstances. Landais did not hold his command thro' the Voyage, which was either relinquished by him or wrested from him. All the Passengers, as well as Officers and Sailors are highly incensed against him, and Dr. Lee as much as any one. A Court of Inquiry is now sitting upon this Matter, in which the Dr. has given a full Evidence against the

Captain, which represents him as insane. The Officers and the Men complain loudly of being kept out of their Prize Money; this may make a temporary Impression upon some here, but People of Discretion wait for Accounts from France on the Other Side; and I pledge myself that your Honor will appear clear thro' this whole Matter.

Although deserted immediately upon his disgrace by both Adams and Lee, who made not the slightest effort to relieve his pecuniary distress, Landais found a friend in Samuel Adams, who later urged in Congress the settlement of his arrears of pay.

The subsequent history of the unfortunate Landais has the interest of a tragic romance. A fantastic figure in his old uniform, and wearing always the American cockade, he lived long in the country where he had been condemned to hopeless disgrace, like the Wandering Jew, surviving by nearly half a century his contemporaries in the events of the Revolution.¹

¹ A contemporary writer in *The Talisman* states that, after his disgrace, "he constantly resided in the city of New York, except that he always made a biennial visit to the seat of government, whether at Philadelphia or Washington, to present a memorial respecting the injustice done him, to claim restitution to his rank and the arrears of his pay. An unexpected dividend of prize-money, won at the beginning of the Revolution and paid in 1790, gave him an annuity of \$104. The Admiral kept up to the last the habits and exterior of a gentleman. His coat threadbare but scrupulously brushed, he wore the American cockade to the last, and on the 4th of July he mounted his old Continental Navy uniform, although his big brass buttons had lost their splendor, and the skirts of his coat, which wrapped his shrunken person like a cloak, touched his heels in walking. He subsisted in the utmost independence on his scanty income, refusing all presents. Thus in proud, solitary and honorable poverty lived Pierre de Landais for forty years, until, to use the language of his own epitaph, in the eighty-seventh year of his age he 'disappeared from this life.' As he left no property and had no relatives and scarcely any acquaintances in the country, it has always been a

In several of the distinguishing traits which marked Landais for misfortune Arthur Lee was allied to the man whom he basely deserted as soon as his usefulness as a tool of private revenge was exhausted. The opinion of Sparks that Lee was "regardless of forms when he could come quickly to the substance" was exactly exemplified in his use of Landais to defy Franklin and get his private effects across the ocean. His cardinal fault of suspecting others was accompanied, as in the case of Landais, with a high irritability uncontrolled by his personal ability and his undoubted sincerity. How far his patriotism can be asserted, in view of his disregard of his country's needs in preventing the transportation of his country's stores, must be left to his biographers and defenders. By his own confession, "it was unhappily my fate to be thrown into public life" and "the impatience of my nature made me embark in it with an impetuosity and imprudence which increased the faults to which it was inclined."

mystery to me who erected his monument in St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York, on which reads the following characteristic inscription:

†
à la memoire de
Pierre de Landais
ancien contre amiral
au service
des Etats Unis
qui disparut
Juin 1818
Agé 87

"The natural violence of his temper was not softened by age. On one of his visits to Washington, on hearing that a member of Congress had spoken slightly of him, he assumed his uniform and sword and announced that if there was bad blood in Congress he would draw it. He affirmed to the last that he, and not Jones, was the conqueror of the *Serapis*."

Influenced, as he had been, during his life in London prior to the Revolution, by his intimate association with Wilkes, the unscrupulous agent of great reforms, he early adopted a Jesuitical standard of any means to an end, which was most prejudicial to his character.

Although he abandoned Landais in his disgrace, Lee continued his abuse of Franklin with unremitting and sinister activity. As soon as he arrived in Boston, he sent an address to Congress asking to be examined as to his own conduct of affairs in Europe and promising revelations in regard to the dishonest management of the commissioner's office at Passy. In December of the same year he again addressed Congress in an open attack on Franklin's integrity, and, with the assistance of his brother Richard Henry Lee and the Adams faction in Congress, succeeded in arousing grave doubts as to the propriety of continuing Franklin in his office as American minister. The true facts in regard to Lee's conduct in Europe being as yet unknown to his own State of Virginia, he had been elected upon his return to America to the House of Delegates of that State, which chose him in the following year as one of the delegates of the State to Congress.

In July, 1782, Lee in Congress moved for a committee to examine into the financial management of Franklin, and with the concurrence of Franklin's friends, Lee himself, Izard¹ and Wharton were appointed to form the committee. A majority, therefore, were in bitter antagonism to Franklin, but that majority were unable to

¹As one of the discontented roving envoys unwisely appointed by Congress, Izard was in sympathy with Lee.

discover any mismanagement on which to report. The virulence of Lee's hatred of Franklin was by no means abated by this failure to discredit him, and the results of this unmerited and unworthy persecution recoiled at last upon his own head.

Lee had found himself included in the condemnatory findings of the court-martial held to try Landais and in the report of the board of admiralty, with no further consequences as far as his retention of political office was concerned. A letter which he addressed to a fellow-member of the Virginia House of Delegates contained such unrestrained abuse of the American minister in Paris that the recipient, Mr. Mann Page, thought it expedient to refer it to the Virginia assembly, with the result that a resolution for Lee's recall from Congress was introduced on the ground that his opinions were prejudicial to the public interests.

Edmund Randolph, in a letter to Madison, related that "the votes for his recall were 39 and the noes 41. His defense was pathetic. He called upon the assembly to remember his services, to protect his honor and not to put it out of his power to profit his country by his labors. The failure of some of his enemies to attend alone saved him. Should Henry come to the next session it seems impossible he should again be elected."

In spite of the fact that Lee's committee had discovered no flaws in the financial integrity of Franklin, Congress, still in doubt as to his efficiency, appointed Henry Laurens as agent to negotiate loans in Europe. Franklin received him with perfect courtesy, and when Laurens realized the hopelessness of his mission, se-

renely and without a single complaint as to the implied reflection upon his own conduct of such matters, resumed his eminently successful negotiations with the French court, which at his instance granted the almost unlimited supplies of money and stores which the American government so sorely needed.

Adams's appointment as sole agent to negotiate a peace with England was also rescinded by the American Congress, convinced at last that Franklin was indispensable in the ultimate conduct of those negotiations, as he had been in all diplomatic affairs in Europe.

From Franklin no word of defence or of retaliatory criticism of his enemies ever issued, and the members of the American Congress were left to the final enlightenment of time.

As in the case of the famous attack upon him by Wedderburn in Parliament, Franklin preferred silence to expostulation, and disdained to defend himself. This serene attitude toward his enemies was a striking example of the almost superhuman wisdom of the remarkable man who most fortunately stood at the head of American affairs in Europe. The extraordinary veneration with which he was regarded among European diplomatists, assisted by his knowledge of men and his lifetime of experience, alone brought to a successful issue the conduct of the Revolutionary struggle in Europe; for it may be clearly stated that, without his personal influence, the aid and alliance of the French nation, by which alone the independence of America was accomplished, would never have been granted. If the evil machinations of Lee and the Adams faction in

Congress had succeeded in removing Franklin from France, the story of the Revolutionary struggle might have had a very different conclusion and the independence of a great nation been indefinitely postponed.

By the universality of his genius Franklin may be said to have enclosed a greater space of eternal truth than any other individual of his time and country. His vast consciousness included an exact knowledge of himself, growing through the strictest self-discipline into a recognition of his own powers as simple as it was serene. With a foreknowledge of events born of his intellectual and moral supremacy, he bore the manifold responsibilities and trials of his unique position like a mountain whose crest was always above the clouds.

Although betrayed into a most unusual irritation over Lee's plot to defy his authority and to frustrate his plans of sending assistance to the American armies, he received the news of the ignoble culmination of his enemy's designs, as communicated to him by Doctor Cooper, with his characteristic philosophy, transmitting the report to Jones through the hands of his secretary without comment or remark.

CHAPTER XIX

"DELIA"

DURING the last weeks of July a personal incident of the warmest interest relieved the perplexities and disappointments of Jones's existence with a consoling repetition of the flattery and enchantments of Paris. Purely personal and ephemeral in character, it would deserve but passing reference except for the light it throws upon the hero in his intimate hours, and for the significant fact that the letters from the lady which relate the story of the episode are the only ones of this character which he preserved.

A perusal of the tear-stained pages which still exist in their original chirography among Jones's papers in Washington reveals the reason of his unwillingness to destroy them, for they are a remarkable tribute to his capacity of inspiring the deepest attachment, as well as an example of the hero-worship of which he was at this time the object.

An added reason for giving space to the narration of the episode is found in the fact that the identity of the lady, which it was evidently Jones's intention to conceal, has not hitherto been discovered.

Brief quotations from the letters were published by Sherburne, Jones's earliest biographer, who was able to assign no date to the letters or to identify the lady

who refers to herself in the text by the fanciful name of Delia.

The following verses from the pen of the hapless André, copied by Jones's own hand, are found among these letters, and indicate the source of his fondness for the sentimental old name and his admiration for the loveliness of the lady upon whom he bestowed it:

A SONG, WRITTEN BY MAJOR ANDRÉ AT
PHILADELPHIA

1.

Return enraptured hours—
When Delia's heart was mine,
When she with wreaths of flowers
My temples did entwine.
No jealousy nor care
Corroded then my breast
But visions light as air
Presided o'er my rest.

2.

Now nights round my bed
No airy visions play.
Nor flow'rets wreath my head
Each vernal holliday
Far, far from these sad plains
The lovely Delia flies
While racked with jealous pains
Her wretched lover dies.

No further information in regard to Delia's identity was furnished by Miss Taylor when she directed the compilation of the biography of her uncle, which was published in 1830. The author, Robert Sands, declared

that the identity of Delia must always remain a mystery. Mystery it did remain to all succeeding biographers, although some twenty years later Miss Taylor in a letter to Fenimore Cooper stated that Delia was a countess in her own right and related on one side of the family to the British aristocracy.

Still another source of information in regard to Delia's identity appeared in the year 1907 in the form of a statement attached by the vendor to a miniature of Jones which had been bestowed upon an American young lady, Miss Marie A., by the Viscountess D'Arbouze, who had received it from a member of the family of its original possessor. This original possessor was designated as the Countess of Nilodon, and she was furthermore stated to have been the mistress of Paul Jones and the illegitimate daughter of Louis XV. A letter from the former owner of the miniature, the father of Miss Marie A., also stated that the Viscountess D'Arbouze was an American by birth who had conducted unsuccessfully an institution for young ladies in Paris and afterward another in Brussels, under the patronage of the Countess of Flanders, sister-in-law of King Leopold II of Belgium. Living to an advanced age, the Viscountess D'Arbouze presented to her favorite pupils various souvenirs, and to Miss A., an American, she gave the miniature of Paul Jones. Ignorant for a long time of the fame of Jones or the value of her miniature, Miss A.'s father finally offered it for sale through the director of the State archives of Jackson, Mississippi, through whom it finally found its way to New York.

The information thus furnished, although incorrectly confounding the original owner of the miniature with the lady known as Madame Thelison, who was closely associated with Paul Jones, and a natural daughter of Louis XV, supplied a name to the owner of the miniature which greatly aided the search for her identity. That she was not called the Countess of Nilodon, but by a similar title, is established beyond doubt by letters belonging clearly to the summer of 1780 which are preserved among Jones's papers in Washington. She was born Nicolson, and was the wife of Count William Murray de Nicolson, a Scotch magistrate and politician, resident in Holland, who was sent as envoy to France in the year 1772 and received his title in 1776 from the French Government for his conduct of a secret negotiation regarding America. He added his wife's patronymic to his own according to the prevailing French custom. The alteration of Nicolson to Nilodon in the various handwritings by which it was transmitted is in no way remarkable. The Countess of Nicolson and her brother William Nicolson belonged to a branch of the family resident in Holland, where, in the year 1769, William was a member of the "Compagnie des Indes Hollandaises." Miss Taylor's statement that the Countess of Nicolson bore the title in her own right must have been a misapprehension gathered from the—to her—unfamiliar fact that the Countess of Nicolson's husband's name and title included her own.

The first note, in French, among several which reveal Jones's acquaintance with the family of the Nicolsons, is signed de Charlary and was written from the lady's

residence at "Sennonville" in the Canton of Pontoise, near Paris: ¹

I have the pleasure of writing you, Monsieur, in the name of three persons, the lord of the chateau, Madame de Nicolson, and myself, to invite you to pass twenty-four hours with us. You should have no doubt of the reception which is your due. If your engagements do not permit, we will all be in Paris on Friday next and enchanted to see you again.

This letter, which was written in May, at a date just previous to Jones's departure for L'Orient, was addressed to Commodore Paul Jones at M. le Docteur Franklin's at Passy.

The second letter, one of compliment and farewell from Murray de Nicolson, in clearly translated French, indicates that the writer shared his wife's admiration of Jones, and shows that by long association as well as residence he was less British than French:

Thursday, *May* — 1780.

You cannot imagine, Sir, how much I regret having been deprived of the plaisir I promised myself in seeing

¹ In the "Armorial of the Nobility of Europe," compiled by De Reistap, are found the bearings of the Nicolsons, who were originally from Scotland, and of the Nicolson de Nicolson, also of Scotland. Several members of the Nicolson family of which Sir Arthur Nicolson, once ambassador to Saint Petersburg and now under-secretary in London, is the present head, were enrolled in the Scotch regiments in Holland in the eighteenth century. William Nicolson was a member of the Scotch regiments in France after his sister's marriage to Count Murray and her subsequent removal to France, and afterward taken into the American service under Paul Jones in the capacity of an officer of marines. He was of an improvident disposition, and died at an advanced age in a debtor's prison in London in the year 1816.—("Biographie Universelle par Didot.")

you this afternoon. I went out only at seven o'clock in the belief that the multitude of your occupations had employed all your moments. As I am to go out of town after tomorrow, if I cannot have the pleasure of wishing you innumerable victories, as it is your way of employing your time, may I pray you to think that no one can take more part in the new cargo of laurels that you will not fail to convoy with your return.

Believe me, Sir, with much sincerity,

Your most obedient humble servant,

MURRAY DE NICOLSON.

The next letter, in French, endorsed the 2d of June, 1780, from the Marquis de Puy Segur, not only defines the aristocratic association of the Nicolsons, but contains corroborative proof of the identity of Delia with the Countess of Nicolson, in its reference to her brother, William Nicolson (frequently mentioned in Delia's letters), who desired Jones's influence to advance him in his military career:

I learned, Monsieur, from Mr. Nicolson, that you have signified your willingness to employ him under your command. I am exceedingly pleased that he is fortunate enough to re-enter the military service under such happy auspices, not having been able to secure his reappointment since the reform of the Scotch regiments in the service in 1763.

I am enchanted to find the occasion of assuring you of all the esteem with which your merit inspires me and of my wishes for your prosperity.

That the admiration which the countess and her relatives showed for Paul Jones was not unappreciated is quite singularly proved by the facts referred to in the

fourth of the little collection of these illuminating epistles. The writer, one "Rouel, employé à l'hôtel des portes," was used as an intermediary between the countess and Jones. In urging Jones to sit for his portrait at the request of the lady, he regretfully refers to the failure of their plan, "in spite of all the trouble the countess has taken."

The letter dated the 21st of June was written when Jones had already returned to L'Orient after his absence of only six days from that port, but it proved that during his flying visit to Paris on the urgent errand of procuring orders from Sartine and Franklin to arrest Landais and to prevent the sailing of the *Alliance*, he had found time to visit the Countess of Nicolson and to make arrangements for the portrait which she had desired.

"I see with regret," Rouel writes, "that your amiability in consenting to be painted has been fruitless, and that the wishes of Madame la Comtesse de Nicolson have not been fulfilled in spite of the sacrifices and the means which she employed for that purpose in being obliged to refer to your bust which you saw in her company and always without success. I have spoken to her of a painter who has talent (which all have not) in composition as well as in getting the likeness. If the work of your cabinet, Monsieur, permits you to give two sittings, they will be enough for him, either during the business of your cabinet or during the hour of your dinner, for he is unwilling to inconvenience you. You will have confidence in the person I have the honor to recommend when he mentions the individuals who

know of his talent and are in a position to testify in regard to it.

“I will charge myself for the payment of the portrait and it shall be delivered to you to send on to Aix-la-Chapelle without saying from whence it has come. The trust which you inspire, Monsieur, induces me to make this confidence, being entirely certain that you will forget it in case you disapprove after having learned from M. le Chevalier de Nicolson that I only wish to oblige and not to impose myself in the matter.

“I know from a letter which came on Sunday the reasons for your return. I hope very sincerely, Monsieur, that you will not think of sailing considering how little confidence your crew deserves.

“I have the honor to be, in view of the sentiment with which you inspire all France, Monsieur, your very humble and very obedient servant.”

That the brother of the countess, here given his title of chevalier, expected soon to be under Jones's command at L'Orient was evidently known to Rouel, as well as the lady's intention of going soon to Aix, whither the promised miniature was to be sent. Toward the end of July, in company with her brother, Madame de Nicolson came herself to L'Orient, and there passed six days, after which they both returned to Paris. During this brief visit she abandoned herself to daily interviews with her “adorable Jones” and found him as accomplished in love as he was famous in war. Beautiful, according to his enthusiastic testimony, and endowed with all the gifts and advantages of birth and fortune, the Countess of Nicolson, as her letters dis-

close, was more remarkable for the ardor of her imagination and the generosity of her heart, and in the nature of Paul Jones she found at once her counterpart and ideal. Wholly different from the Comtesse de Lowendahl, she displayed no use of calculating coquetry to advance the plans of an ambitious husband. Her admiration of the hero growing, in the warmth of their headlong intimacy, into a complete infatuation, she threw herself into his arms, paying for her brief intoxication in agonies of despair at his loss. With no care for her future, except to remain at his side, she was at once prepared to leave her brilliant world, and was only restrained by her unselfish regard for his interests. When she left him at L'Orient, after those "six days which passed alas like a dream," she already realized that his intense desire for distinction and the exigencies of his public career would bring about their inevitable separation. The letters which her lover preserved are notable as examples of the unconscious eloquence of genuine emotion. Her unstudied and irregular phrases are often adorned with words of striking force and significance, and in many passages of pathetic sincerity she reveals a heart truly broken with love and a deep and disinterested devotion. Rumors of Jones's troubles had reached her even before his journey to Paris, and still distressed her when she addressed her first letter to him after her visit to L'Orient:

Pardon me, oh! my beloved, if I am indiscreet, but I am tortured with fears on your account, fears which I felt at L'Orient, but which, observing your reticence on all such matters, I never dared to ex-

press. I am told that neither yourself nor your people have yet been paid. In the name of all the love which is consuming me, command me if I can be of service to you. I have diamonds and possessions of all sorts, and could easily realize the amount. Command your mistress, give me this happiness!—to me who would fly to your assistance. Twenty times while in your arms I pined to propose it, but feared to displease you. On that cruel evening at Herbon when I thought that I should be compelled to leave you (but which was afterwards so fortunate for us) at the moment when you urged me to take the object which you thought I should need, but which I could have done without, how often I cursed the Chevalier, his presence deprived me of two hours of your society, heavens! poor me, who counted every precious instant. Alas! it was only the belief in your love which gave me the courage to leave you. At the moment when you disappeared from my sight I thought I should die of despair. No, never will you know the fearful state to which the tenderest love has reduced me. If you knew what thoughts were in my mind at the moment when I bade you farewell, you would be horrified. Alas! I thought I should never see you again and I longed to put an end to my sufferings. Torn from your arms and hopeless of ever meeting again, death seemed very sweet.

Dear and too adorable friend! What would I not give if you were free to remain in France! O God! I am dying to rejoin you, never again to separate from you. But no! I feel by the anguish of my soul, which seems to whisper it to me, that I shall never see you again. Heavens! Jones will forget me. He may cease to love me. No, his noble heart is incapable of such cruelty and I trust him as I would in heaven itself.

Pardon, dear love, the confusion of my words. My distress absorbs all my thoughts.

You ask indulgence for your verses, adorable Jones. How dear your modesty is to my heart! Never had a mortal less cause to be humble. Everything about you is enchanting. These delightful numbers which so well reveal your noble soul in all its elevation. My eyes have shed floods of tears. Dear love, you have no equal and never was mortal cherished as you are in my devoted heart.

The following verses with the reference in the last stanza to the hope which he had, at this time, of soon bringing a naval force under the American flag back to France, evidently belong to this summer of 1780, and are probably those referred to in the above letter from Madame de Nicolson:

LINES ADDRESSED TO A LADY

I

When Jove from high Olympus goes
 To Ida and the fair below
 All heav'n laments—but Juno shows
 A jealous and superior woe
 In vain to her all power is given
 To female weakness ever dear;
 She scorns the sovereignty of heaven
 Her God, her Jove seems all to her.

II

But when the Thunderer returns
 And seeks his skies, (so Homer sings)
 Soft flames the impatient goddess burns
 She hastes to meet the King of Kings
 Swift as the light her chariot flies
 Her swifter wishes fly before;
 Still joyous in the middle skies
 She meets the cloud compelling power.

III

Prolific nature feels the embrace
 Superior blossoms, fruits and flowers
 Spring up—heaven wears a brighter face
 And fragrance in profusion showers
 Celestial raptures—who can tell?
 Ours all divine are only *felt*
 What bold presumptuous strains shall swell
 With transports which the gods can melt!

IV

Thus when thy warrior—though no god
 Brings Freedom’s standard o’er the main
 Long absent from thy blue abode
 Casts anchor in *dear France* again
 O! thou more heavenly!—far more kind
 Than Juno, as thy swain than Jove
 With what heart’s transports, raptured mind
 Shall we approach on wings of love.

Daily letters from Jones, who asked her advice in regard to his many perplexities, and who confided to her his cherished ambitions, brought little comfort, or the welcome hint of his jealousy of his lovely lady’s many admirers. She could think of but one thing, his inevitable departure, and was dying to rejoin him, but delicately left the decision of their future to him.

She writes toward the end of July:

I am suffering the cruelest anxiety in regard to your health, my only love. Dear Jones, if distance must separate us, what is to become of me? Mon Dieu! How unhappy I am! O, my angel, my adorable friend, when shall we be reunited, never again to part? Never, no never, can I live till you return. My intense love, my ill-health, and above all, my mortal terror in regard to

the fate of my beloved, make me daily die a thousand deaths and will finally put an end to all my ills. They are inexpressible. Ah! I realize by the manifold torments of my soul that I have never loved but you and if I must be deprived of you, I feel that I shall detest my life.

Jones, my dear lover, pardon your unhappy Delia; forgive her weakness; remember that she adores you and will die if she loses you.

Can you speak of rivals to me when I am dying for love of you? If it is possible I shall love you beyond death, and everything which is apart from you I loathe. O, my angel, think of the mortal anxiety I shall endure every moment until you arrive in America, and imagine what my love can be if I wish you far away from me so that I can be assured that you are no longer in danger. What am I reduced to and how dreadful is my state! No, never has mortal suffered so cruel a fate.

I have your letters of the 18th and 19th and confess I am in doubt as to how I shall advise you. I wish I had the power to bestow a crown upon you. Surely no mortal has ever better deserved one.

I have dwelt little on my own future, my adorable friend, for I realize with despair that I never could make you happy over there or have a part in your greatness. As for me, a cabin and my lover would make me only too happy, but I should never demand any sacrifice of you. You were not made to live in retirement and I should never propose it. At the same time, you might yourself decide what you wish me to do and you may be assured of my eagerness to follow your desires. I love you with idolatry and for yourself alone and my sole desire is to pass my life with you, but I wish you to be happy. You have never confided in me in regard to your affairs. You know only my attachment to you and the proofs of it which I have given you. You have

yet to know my innermost heart and all that it holds for you. If you are absolutely without fortune and obliged through some dissatisfaction to quit your career, return then to France and rely upon me who adore you and who will try by every possible means to make you forget the injustice of men.

As soon as I can see Mr. R. he will renew his offers to give me an interest in certain affairs of his in Holland, so if you wish me to leave Paris I can do so. I shall not be so well off, but I shall not hesitate to do what you might desire. I should only be too happy if I could allay any possible distress of yours and my love would spare you any reproach for this voyage of yours to America.

My health in fact has suffered somewhat from my anxiety but that is of no consequence. Nothing has ever given me such pleasure—what am I writing?—I mean that in all my life I never really lived except during those six days, which passed, alas, like a dream, and of which nothing remains but the mournful vision of a happiness which is no more.

What words Jones found to tell her that his departure was fixed and that he could not contemplate giving up his career are unknown, for of his reply no copy exists, but his letter, as we know from her next, was stained with his tears and so fraught with love and regret that her own bitter grief was relieved by her confidence in his sincerity:

Your letter of Tuesday, which reached me on Sunday the 20th, tears my heart and augments my despair. With the grief of a desolate child, I kissed the dear marks of your tears, while those that fell from my eyes were the cruelest, the bitterest of my life. My soul is

oppressed and sinks in a sea of sighs. No never, I feel that I never really loved until that moment so dear and yet so fatal to my peace when fate first brought you before my eyes. That moment decided the remainder of my life. Yes, my adorable and loving friend, my fate depends wholly upon you. I shall never be either happy or unfortunate except through you. Do not blame me for this candor, dear love, and believe in your inmost heart that I adore, esteem and even worship you, believing you incapable of a dishonorable act, otherwise I should never have confessed the power you have over every faculty of my being. I adore you, I avow it and swear again that no living being ever has or ever will have the power to make me speak thus. There, my dear and only love, is my profession of faith. I am yours and for my whole life. Be calm now. Take courage and believe that a kind heaven will reunite us and watch over the fate of two beings who love each other dearly and whose faithful hearts deserve to be happy. Take care of your precious life and know that mine is wrapt up in yours. I shall ceaselessly address my prayers to heaven for your safe arrival in America. If you are satisfied in your service for that country, you will continue it. Otherwise you must abandon it and rejoin her who loves you so faithfully. If the whole world were against you her heart would be constant forever. I give you my faith and swear it by this sacred flame which will never be extinguished.

You ask me what you can do to make me happy. Take care of your health, love me, and think of a way which will enable us to pass our lives together, and never lose sight of the thought that my existence is bound up in yours and that the moment when I lose you will put an end to my torments.

I have your letter of the 16th. The state of your health alarms me. The thought of your danger brings

back all my woman's weakness and makes me confess that my terrible anxiety for the object of my desires is likely to kill me.

Dear Jones, adieu. The Chevalier assures you of his respect and regard. He departs tomorrow evening. He is happier, alas, than his unfortunate sister, for he will see you. Heavens! how willingly would she be the lowest of your crew!

Did the lady protest too much, or were other and present interests so disturbing that Jones relaxed somewhat in his assiduous letter-writing?

She writes in alarm at his unaccountable silence:

Six posts and no news. I try to have courage, but what must I think of such forgetfulness? Are you ill? Have you ceased to love me? Heavens! the thought chills my heart! I cannot believe you so cruel. You cannot desire my death. It is possible that our separation has ruined my happiness. Alas! if absence has lost me your heart, it has not had that effect upon me, for you are a thousand times dearer to me now than on that dreadful day when you bade me adieu. Your letters, the assurance of your attachment, my own inclination, all has served to intensify my feelings, and now perhaps I must renounce all that makes my life dear. I am perhaps inclined to despair and I am also too fearful and sensitive. The charming and tender Jones is as faithful a lover as he is a valiant and zealous patriot. Such rare qualities are united in the object of all my affections. I will not doubt it. It would be an injustice, even a crime. Pardon my fears, too cherished friend. I will force myself to be calm. Judge of the excess of my attachment by my mortal terror of losing your esteem, your heart.

Jones's silence continued, and in growing distress his fond mistress implored a reply, asking at least to be put out of her torment:

Mon dieu! My servant has returned from the gardeposte and no letter. Heavens! by what cruelty am I deprived of the only consolation left to my despair and my regrets? Alas! could you be unkind enough to depart without bidding me adieu, without expressing the slightest regret at leaving me, nor any sorrow for all the ills I have suffered since the cruel moment when fate gave you to me? Alas! if I was not very happy, my heart was free from fears and my indifference took the place of happiness. Instead of that I am now dying of grief and see no end to it all, no hope of being any happier. Perhaps all I have done for your sake and the marks of my tenderness embarrass you. You consider yourself bound, perhaps, to render me a certain degree of gratitude. If this is my misfortune, I have enough pride and I feel that I have also the courage to renounce everything which makes me value my life. My entire existence would have been yours to eternity, but I must know myself loved in return and I feel that I should be if the most disinterested and purest emotions merit your preference.

If I do not receive a letter from you by Tuesday, I shall importune you no longer with mine and you will hear from me neither complaint nor reproach. They have never served except to humiliate those who are weak enough to make them. I may be deceived, but never could I abase myself to complain. Rest assured, however, if I had not had the greatest esteem for you I never should have trusted myself to you or left myself so defenceless. In spite of everything, I count upon your honor and that no eye shall see the proofs I have given you of a feeling stronger than myself or my

de poste et point de nouvelle, cest pour prendre courage
que ne doute penser d'une aussi cruel oubli, seray vos
noblesse auray vos cœurs de ma main. Je suis cette idée ne puis faire
non le ne puis vous croire si bas, vous ne voudrez pas
ma mort. Je pourrais que l'absence auroit détruit
mon bonheur, hélas si l'absence me fois perdre votre cœur
il n'en est pas de même a votre égard puisque vous n'êtes
mille fois plus cher que le jour horrible on vous me dit
adieu, vos lettres les assurances de votre attachement, les
dispositions de mon cœur, toute a service a gémir
mes sentiments, et il faudrait renoncer peut-être pour
jamais a tout ce qui me faisait cherir la vie. mais le me
dresse peut-être a tout, on le lui trop de vie et
craintive, l'aimable et tendre d... et ainsi fidèle
amant que vaillants guerriers et gèle patriotes
des qualités si rare ce trouve neant dans l'objet de
de tous mes affections, le ne sera pas en doute cela
serait une injure, un crime même, par d'un trop cher
ami, mes terreurs, le vois m'effroyer d'être tranquille
logis de l'excess de mon attachement pour les chères lettres
que l'on se perde votre estime et votre amour

FAC-SIMILE OF A LETTER FROM THE COUNTESS OF NICOLSON.

In the collection of Paul Jones manuscripts in Washington.

reason, and whose torments make me the most pitiable being in the universe. . . . Adieu! May the ills you cause me trouble in no way your repose. If I cannot hold you or please you as my heart may desire, I shall complain only of my lack of merit. I would have sacrificed my all to the joy of pleasing you and would have given my life to be loved by you, but I was not born happy. May you be so forever, even at the price of my soul's peace. May the whole world render you justice and adore you. Alas, that my own heart should have given you the example. Adieu! On Tuesday I shall know what is to become of me. I cannot go on. My eyes are covered with a mist and everything is troubled and confused in my heart. Nothing is clear except my deep grief and the awful despair to which the fear of losing you has reduced me.

While this appeal was on the way, an entirely reassuring letter from Jones must have reached her, for she writes soon again in repentance for yielding so entirely to her apprehension of his inconstancy:

In my last letter I fear that I too fully revealed my fears and distress. Pardon me, dear Jones. I was not myself. My heart was torn, my thoughts confused. Dear and sympathetic friend, you cannot imagine my terrible suffering. Could one love the adorable Jones and not die of the fear of losing him? O, may no one more fortunate make him forget that there dwells far away a being, tender, sincere, and not unworthy, perhaps, of his regard and remembrance. Your happy country regards you doubtless as its guardian deity, but knows not that you are the god of my heart and of all its devotions. You are made to have friends who love and await you with impatience. Dear and adorable Jones, among all their testimonies of friendship, remem-

ber me and say to yourself that one person exists who depends upon you for her happiness or the cruelest torments. Adieu, adieu, thou being too dear and too fatal to my peace. May fate be always as favorably inclined to you as my heart. Naught then could equal your glory and your happiness. Accept my tenderest thanks for your kindness to my brother. May he always be worthy of it. I cannot conceive why he sends me no news. It seems to me that I deserve this mark of affection. Adieu, adieu, receive kindly these wishes of your tender and faithful friend.

Many weeks had now passed. Her brother had rejoined Jones at L'Orient, where he had been appointed captain of marines on the *Ariel*. Jones was still lingering in L'Orient and spent nearly the whole of August in the fruitless attempt to procure the loan of additional ships with which to set sail for America.

Another letter from Delia, written toward the end of the month, shows that she was then entirely reassured of his constant devotion:

I have just received your letter of the 18th, my dearest friend. How tender it is and how well my heart knows the worth of the delicate, touching words it contains. Every line reveals a sentiment, dear Jones. What a delight it would be to see the author of these charming letters. They all give me joy. To receive them, to reread them a hundred, a thousand times, to think of you, to look at your portrait, and although it little resembles you, my fond imagination supplies this deficiency, and I sit for hours gazing through eyes drowned in tears upon this cold image of the dearest of men, while my heart where your image is graven in lines of fire is torn with despair at your absence.

It has not been possible for me to write to you for several days. I have been very ill and am still very weak. My many trials, and your departure, the cruellest of all, have had much to do with this last indisposition, but I am much better, thanks to your delicious letters and the promises you make that I shall see you again—your assurances of unchanged devotion.

You do not tell me the reason of your long stay at L'Orient. I much fear the delay will prevent your return, at least for some time. If this letter, whose destiny I envy, reaches you before your departure, explain this to me. The intense and sincere interest I have in all that concerns you, is the sole motive of this request.

Before Jones's final departure for America the countess, according to her original intention, left Paris for Aix, where she remained during the weeks of her cure under the protection of an elderly friend of her husband's, M. R——, who was accustomed to advise her as to the investment of her property. It was from Aix that her last letter was written. She was ill, overwrought from the excess of her emotion, and now, quite resigned to Jones's inevitable departure, she confessed that she had fully intended to leave all for his sake, and had vainly tried to get control of her income so that she might provide for their life together.

It is impossible not to feel a deep sympathy for the impulsive and generous woman whose fortune had been at the disposal of both her husband and her brother, and who, while longing to devote herself and her all to her lover was always delicately mindful of his interests. Her health had apparently suffered greatly from her

grief at his loss and her fears of the inevitable estrangement of their indefinite separation. It is an exhausted and nearly despairing woman who writes incoherently of the tortures she endures for his sake:

The two letters I have received from you give me life, give hope to this lacerated heart which seems now too ready to fly away from this bosom which will love you until its last breath. O, my angel! O, thou whom I cannot love fitly, for nothing in my eyes can equal you or even approach the rare qualities of your soul, it is to your soul I now look for release from my fears, my unspeakable torment. Never has any one suffered more cruelly. If I had had the happiness to have known you longer, I might dare to hope you would not easily forget me. I implore you to forgive me for these groundless fears. If I did not restrain them you would receive many letters which would reveal the sufferings of a heart where you reign despotically, but I trust you in your goodness, although your Delia is jealous of you to the point of distraction. To love without jealousy is not to love, and I know by these torments that I love now for the first time in my life, for never has a human being caused me such disquietude.

I am flattered beyond expression at the confidences you make me. It is a precious proof of your esteem and I would give my life to deserve it. In spite of my jealousy, be always assured of my confidence in you, and believe me, this unfortunate heart of mine in its rational moments can fully appreciate the value of your nobility. I would sacrifice the whole world for you if that were possible. When I heard this summer of the loss you had sustained, I would have offered you had I dared, 80,000 livres which I had to invest, but when I returned from L'Orient I found that the person who

attends to my affairs had completed the contract, and because I am under his legal control, I saw to my chagrin that the paper had already been signed by my husband. I must also tell you that he is doing all in his power to keep me in France. Even then, my angel, the courage which I owe to you gave me the power to recover these contracts with the result that the income from that source is now available.

Dear love, on leaving you at L'Orient, I thought seriously of getting this money and other portable effects, to return and share your lot, whatever it might be. It would have been sweet enough for me. I would see you. But unable to carry out these intentions or to aid you in anything, I remain here disheartened, until heaven takes pity on your unfortunate Delia and brings you back to restore her to life.

Be sure then, beloved, of my constancy; my heart, my soul, my body, such as it is, belongs only to you.

Adieu, dear and adorable Jones. May heaven preserve him I love and lead him to happiness. Think sometimes of me, for if I lose you, all is over forever. I fear to trust these tear-stained lines to the journey. I press the marks of your tears to my heart and my lips. O God! How unhappy I am!

A few days after the receipt of this final letter Jones sailed on the *Ariel*, but was compelled to return to the port. In a letter to Bancroft, written immediately upon his landing, he writes:

Pray, have you seen anything of my fair friend, the Countess of N? I am informed that she has returned from Aix and I am most anxious to have news of her.

A still later letter of November the 18th, from William Nicolson, who had gone to Paris on a visit after

the return of the *Ariel*, reports the efforts of his devoted sister to obtain, through her influence at court, the additional ships which Jones so ardently desired:

HONORABLE SIR.

I should have had the honor to write you sooner had I received any favorable news in regard to the ships you desire in your memorandum. In that expectation I delayed from day to day, my sister having set to work the nobility most at credit at court to carry it through. Everyone here thinks your presence absolutely necessary at Paris if your business at L'Orient could allow you. Counts Vauban and De Soto are still in the country but expected every day at Paris by De Soto's father. I expect with impatience their return, to set out with them for L'Orient, or immediately on your orders. I rely on the continuation of your protection and goodness towards me, which I will endeavor to be worthy of more and more by the closest assiduity to my duty.

I am and ever shall be, with the greatest respect, liveliest and warmest gratitude, honorable sir, your most obedient and devoted servant,

WILLIAM NICOLSON.

P.S.—I lodge at my sister's, should you honor me with an answer.

The only existing letter from Jones to Delia, a copy of which is found among his papers, was written on Christmas Day, 1781, from Portsmouth, New Hampshire, more than a year after his departure from France, and although dealing with the events of that year, is here introduced to complete the story of his relations with the lady who loved him so well. For all its gallan-

try and compliment, Jones's epistle, with its smoothly flowing and deliberate phrases, bears not a trace of the passion and pain or the unselfish devotion which breathes from every line of her letters:

I wrote my most lovely Delia, various letters from Philadelphia, the last of which was dated the 20th of June. On the 26th of that month I was unanimously elected by Congress to command the *America* of 74 guns on the stocks at Portsmouth, in Hampshire. The Chevalier [Jones himself] superintended the building, which I found so much more backward than I expected that a plan of operation he had in view is entirely defeated. I expected to have been at these this winter, but the building does not come on with the vigor I could wish.

Since I came here I have not found a single good opportunity to write to Europe. I have not since heard from your relation left behind, but suppose he is with the army. This situation is doubly irksome to me, my lovely friend, that it stops my pursuit of honor as well as love. It is now more than twelve months since I left France, yet I have not received a single letter from thee in all that time except the one written in answer to my letter at taking leave. That one is a tender letter indeed and does honor to thy matchless heart. I read often and always with transport the many charming things that are so well expressed in thy letters, but especially the last. Thy adieu has in it all the finer feelings, blended with the noblest sentiments of the heart. Providence all good and just has given thee a soul worthy in all respects to animate Nature's fairest work. I rest therefore sure that absence will not diminish but refine the pure and spotless friendship that binds our souls together and will ever impress each to

merit the affection of the other. Remember and *believe* my letter at parting. It was but a faint Picture of my heart. I will find opportunities to write and be every-thing thou canst wish.

My address is under cover to the "Honorable Robert Morris, Esq., Minister of Finance at Philadelphia."

Although bearing the separation from his Delia without undue distress, Jones's interest was sufficient to bring him once more to her side on his return to France, after the close of the Revolution in 1783. Her first note, published by the anonymous author of the so-called "Edinburgh Biography," and found by him among the papers which were brought to Scotland, bears Jones's endorsement, "From her apartments in the Boulevard."

Is it possible that you are then so near me and that I am deprived of the sight of a being who has constituted the misery of my life for four years? O, most amiable and most ungrateful of men, come to your best friend, who burns with a desire of seeing you. You ought to know that it is but eight days since your Delia was at the brink of the grave. Come, in the name of heaven.

Although she protested that her misery had lasted through the years of his absence, the countess had evidently formed a clear idea of Jones's "ingratitude" and the mild return which he gave her devotion. It is easy to imagine that their first interview must have convinced them both that no reason remained for a renewal of their relation. The miniature which has come down through the hands of her family to illustrate the story of their attachment was painted by Pinkney, a well-

known American artist resident in Paris in 1780. In the gallant and tender face, so singularly unlike the stern features of Houdon's presentment, is seen the "adorable Jones" of Delia's acquaintance, with the melting blue eyes and candid expression which must always have been the chief elements of his charm. Pity, indeed, that such capacity for giving and receiving happiness was destined always to be sacrificed to his insatiable ambition! The character of the episode, in its high key of sentiment and its great independence of marital ties, was in perfect accord with the standards of the French society of that period. The sincerity and disinterestedness of the Countess of Nicolson, and her capacity of passionate devotion, lend an enduring interest to her character.

CHAPTER XX

THE "ARIEL"

ALTHOUGH Franklin, ill in his bed with an attack of gout, undoubtedly aggravated by his many annoyances, refused absolutely to aid Jones in his efforts to procure additional ships from the French Government, he did not neglect issuing orders for the enrolment of various American seamen at Saint Malo and Morlaix, who were forthwith engaged by Jones to man the *Ariel*. He also abetted Jones's efforts for the payment of the wages of his seamen by a personal request to Sartine that the usual regulations as to the settlement of wages in America should in this case be disregarded and the money be advanced from the funds in the possession of M. de Chaumont. As a result of a sharp correspondence with Montplaisir, M. de Chaumont's agent at L'Orient, an account of the seamen's dues was finally procured by Jones, and the forty-five men of the *Bon Homme Richard* who had remained with him in the *Ariel* received their wages. Official despatches for America were sent to L'Orient, and Franklin now confidently expected that the ship would depart with its stores for America, but Jones found it impossible yet to relinquish his hopes of getting hold of the *Serapis*, which still lay in the harbor, and wrote urgently to Bancroft to ask that all possible influence should be used with

Sartine to give him command of her as well as of the *Terpsichore*, which was also at L'Orient ready to sail with despatches for the West Indies, adding that he "hoped Dr. Franklin will at least not oppose the application if he hears of it." He said that he should himself use all the influence he could command with the minister and then, if unsuccessful, would "rest satisfied that he had done his utmost for the common cause." Following this declaration he then resorted to the methods which had procured his squadron from the reluctant Sartine, and wrote to every individual of his acquaintance whose influence he thought might be of use. He wrote to the Chevalier de Baudouine who had access to Vergennes, and to Genêt, asking him to "tell Sartine and the rest of the King's ministers" that he "would rather be shot to death than suffered to pine away in idleness while our glorious cause is undetermined." He wrote to his old friend the Duc de la Rochefoucauld, he wrote again and again to Sartine himself, and, failing to get any response, addressed himself once more to Vergennes, on the 2d of August, enclosing a second copy of his plans for future expeditions, which had already received Vergennes's approval, asking him to reconsider them with a view to their immediate execution, and to lay them before the King's privy council. He observed that "since I had the honor of laying before your Excellency in the month of May last my project for future expeditions, the events of the war have not so altered circumstances as to render my ideas inexpedient. On the contrary, the farther the war advances, I am the more confirmed in the utility that would result

to the common cause from such services as I have therein hinted at."

The news of the disastrous defeat at Charleston had just reached Europe, and at no moment in the Revolution, since the despairing period which preceded the battle of Trenton, had the prospect of a successful termination of the revolution seemed so discouraging. Jones had great reason for the opinion that the progress of the war demanded the utmost efforts on the part of all servants of the American cause, and undeniable justification in thinking that he, as the victor of great exploits, should be active in pursuing the conflict with the support of the allied powers.¹

The fact that the *Ariel* was incapable of transporting the whole of the military stores was also a practical reason for his desire for a larger ship, as well as the fact that the insignificant size of the vessel would expose him to the danger of falling a prey to the enemy. His desire of taking the *Serapis* back to America as the prize of his valor was consistent with his love of reputation and wholly natural under the circumstances. His idea was to arm her *en flute*, and, together with the *Terpsichore* and the *Ariel*, proceed to America with the whole amount of the military stores.

None of his efforts to obtain this force from Franklin and the French cabinet were successful, partly on ac-

¹ In a letter to William Carmichael, then accredited to the court of Spain, he wrote: "The affair of Charleston is too bad in any light in which I have yet heard of its being planned. I mean with respect to the advance by sea. As to the advance by land, and the wisdom or folly of suffering the troops to be cooped up in the town, I shall not pretend to judge."

count of his loss of prestige through his seemingly very unnecessary deprivation of the *Alliance*, and greatly on account of the fact that Franklin persistently declined to support his applications. On the 13th Vergennes sent the following thinly veiled reproof for his importunity:

VERSAILLES, *August 13, 1780.*

I have received, Sir, the letter which you did me the honor to write on the 2nd of this month. You carry to America such signal proofs of the King's satisfaction with your services that it would seem to me you should not desire more. Nevertheless I will willingly authorize the Count de la Luzerne to endorse the letter which has already been given you by M. de Sartine, but the King cannot authorize the Minister Plenipotentiary to ask Congress to employ you during the course of the war, for it is for that body alone to judge in what degree your services may be useful to the United States. Besides, I am convinced that there will be no necessity of soliciting Congress to render justice to your capacity or patriotism. I have sent M. de Sartine the project which accompanied your letter, that minister alone being in the position of declining it if it can be adopted.

This brief letter, with another, found in the archives of the foreign office in Paris, in which Vergennes transmitted Jones's plan to Sartine, throws a clear light upon Vergennes's attitude toward the American allies, which was always and consistently governed by his purpose to keep alive their rebellion against England, but in no manner included the encouragement of Jones's ambitions. In his annoyance at the detention of the military stores destined to aid the colonists at a moment of great

necessity, he was in accord with Franklin's disapprobation of Jones's continued reluctance to sail, and distinctly hostile to any proposition other than their immediate transportation.

M. de Sartine, who had a complete and varied experience of Jones's forcible method of preferring his requests, evidently agreed with Vergennes that the American captain had received ample recognition from the court, and plainly expressed his weariness with the numerous letters with which Jones had bombarded him; he was entirely unwilling to persuade the King to provide additional ships or recommend the immediate execution of any new propositions, as may be seen in his reply to Vergennes's letter:

VERSAILLES, 21 *August*, 1780.

I have received, Sir, with the letter you did me the honor to write on the 14th, the project for a cruise sent you by M. Paul Jones. I am obliged to you for having sent it. This American commodore has been sending me these memoranda for a long time past. They have been submitted to the King, but His Majesty has decided that there should be no consideration of the projects proposed by M. Jones until he has returned from North America and until the general Congress of the United States has judged it wise to employ him in this expedition.

Sartine deigned to send no reply whatever to the proposals of his indefatigable correspondent, but Jones's application having been sent in duplicate to the Comte de Maurepas as prime minister, it was acknowledged in phrases so courteous and contained promises so definite

of the King's support in case the American Government gave Jones a force of his own, that it brought him great consolation:

VERSAILLES, *August 15, 1780.*

COMMODORE PAUL JONES,

Sir: I have received with great pleasure and read with attention the letter wrote me the 2nd inst. from L'Orient. I have remarked therein the continuation of your zeal for the common cause. I have examined and communicated to M. de Sartine the project annexed to your letter and we have no manner of doubt of the good effect that would result were it entrusted to you, but at present it could not be said what number of frigates might be employed, they being all actually armed on account of the King, and the plan of the approaching campaign is not yet sufficiently determined positively to say how many frigates may be given to you, but this need not prevent, if you have the consent of Congress the execution of the first part of your scheme to come here as you propose with the *Alliance* and the other vessels which you may have and with a sufficient American crew to arm the frigates which may join you. I will endeavor here to secure some for you or to substitute privateers in their place. The conduct you have observed and the zeal you have shown for the service must assure you of the readiness with which I shall always aid any enterprise in which you may be concerned. Be assured, Sir, of the desire I have of rendering you any service and convincing you of the sentiments with which, I am, etc.,

MAUREPAS.

Replying to this welcome epistle Jones wrote:

I want words to express my thanks for your very kind letter. It shall be the ambition of my life to merit

your Excellency's protection and to devote all my abilities, such as they are, with double ardor to prove my grateful attachment and zeal for the glory and interest of the King, his ministers and this generous minded nation.

By the four late ships that are arrived at L'Orient from Philadelphia I learn that Congress and all America are warmly my friends. This cannot but afford me real satisfaction as a citizen of America, and more especially because I shall be the better able to accomplish the first part of my project agreeable to your Excellency's proposal by providing the frigates and men in question from America, which will, I fondly hope, enable me effectually to promote the glory and success of the common cause.

His reply to Vergennes's ironical letter is a notable example of his skill in self-defence, and a testimony to the genuineness of his patriotism:

MY LORD: I duly received the letter your Excellency did me the honor to write me from Versailles the 13th of this month. . . . I beg leave just to observe, my Lord, that far from being dissatisfied with the illustrious marks that have been conferred upon me of his Majesty's approbation, I have been and am still so conscious of not having sufficiently merited them that I have lately been impressed with double zeal and ardor to find new opportunities to prove my gratitude by such services as tend effectually to distress the enemy and promote the common cause. Inspired by these sentiments, I drew up and showed your Excellency in May the project for future expeditions and when I arrive at the Congress I will do my best to bring same enterprises to a successful issue. If I do not succeed I shall at least have the satisfaction of having constantly at-

tempted whatever in my judgment would most effectually promote the lustre and success of our common cause, but it will go hard with me if I do not find some future opportunity to testify to the world my gratitude and attachment to the King, to his ministers and to the nation.

Convinced at last that no persuasions could move the French cabinet, Jones should then have sailed without further delay, but he was still desirous of obtaining some definite assurances in regard to the payment of the prize-money, and waited still another fortnight before taking the *Ariel* into the Roads of Groix. On the 25th of August he celebrated the birthday of Louis XVI with the firing of salutes and other appropriate ceremonies. On the 2d of September he gave an elaborate entertainment on board the *Ariel* to the various residents and visiting notables at L'Orient, when a mock battle in imitation of the engagement with the *Serapis* was organized for their amusement. Fanning's naïve account of these festivities gives a clear glimpse of Jones's exceedingly affable manners as a host on this occasion.¹

¹"About the tenth of December * great preparations were made on board our ship in consequence of a great number of people of the first character in L'Orient. One prince of the royal blood and three French admirals with some ladies of the first quality having had cards of invitation sent them by Capt Jones inviting them on board his ship the next day to take dinner with him precisely at three o'clock in the afternoon, and also informing the company that Capt. Jones would in the evening of that day on board of his ship exhibit to them a sham sea fight, and that it should in part represent his battle with the *Serapis*, particularly her tops. . . . The reader may rest assured that neither cash or pains were spared in order that the scene should in every way appear magnificent. In a short time our quarter deck had the appearance of a lady of quality's drawing room. Over head was suspended an elegant awning the

* Fanning's date is inaccurate. The 2d September is the date found in the "log" of the *Ariel*

The days when Jones was occupied in his preparations for this fête were, not strangely, coincident with those "six posts and no letters" which so afflicted his "Delia."

September now, with its gales, delayed Jones during the whole of the month, while the *Ariel* waited a favorable moment for departure. She was filled to the utmost with the cannon and small arms, while the clothing was bestowed in the brig *Luke*, which was to sail under her convoy, as well as *The Duke of Leinster*, which had been chartered by John Ross to transport part of the stores.

On the 8th of October Jones finally set sail, with a fair breeze which presaged good weather. He had scarcely left the harbor, however, before a furious gale arose

edges of which were cut in scallops and decorated with a variety of silk roses, tassils and so forth from a little below the awning. At the sides were hung thin canvass lined with pink colored silk and which hung down so as to reach the quarter deck. These sides were hung with a great variety of pictures and looking glasses. Some of the first had been drawn by one of the most finished artists in France and some of which were quite indecent especially to meet the eyes of a virtuous woman. However in these days they made a part of French etiquette. The quarter deck of our ship was covered with the most elegant carpets. . . . French cooks and waiters or servants were brought from the shore to assist in this business. . . . A French lady (who was said to be a great connoisseur in the art of cookery and in hanging and arranging pictures in a room where the first company went to dine) was gal-lanted on board by Capt Jones the evening before the company were to dine and was by him directed to to take upon herself the superintendence of the approaching feast. The next day was ushered in by thirteen guns and the dressing of the ship with thirteen stripes and the colors of all nations that were friendly to the U. S. Capt Jones and his officers were all dressed in uniform with their best bib and band on, and we were directed by Capt Jones to conduct ourselves with propriety and to pay implicit obedience to my lady superintendent of the ceremony. At a quarter before three o'clock in the afternoon the ships boats (three in number each having a midshipman who acted for this time as coxswain and the men who rowed the boats were all neatly dressed in blew with the american or french cockades in their hats) were dispatched on shore

which nearly wrecked the *Ariel* and exposed him to the most imminent danger. The manner in which he succeeded in saving his ship and the lives of his crew is not the least of the instances of his cool courage under desperate conditions.

With his own hand he cast the lead and, when no other resources remained, coolly issued the order for the dismasting of the vessel. Heavily laden as she was with the cannon and other stores, it was only by his consummate seamanship that she was saved from destruction. His own account is contained in his journal for Louis XVI:

I sailed on the 8th of October with a favorable wind, but the weather changed in the night and I was driven

to bring on board the company. Jones received them as they came up the ships side and conducted them to their seats on the quarter deck with a great deal of ease politeness and good nature. The company was superbly dressed and the Prince was distinguished from the rest by a brilliant star which he wore upon his left breast. Dinner was served up at half past three P.M. the company did not rise from table until a little after sunset, when Capt Jones ordered his first lieutenant to cause all hands to be called to quarters which was done just as the moon was rising. I of course mounted into the main top which had always been my station as long as I had served under Jones of which and the men at the quarters there I had the command. Orders were given before we mounted into the tops that we must be well supplied with ammunition. . . . Such a cracking of great guns, swivels, cow horns, blunderbusses and so forth, such a hissing and popping of hand grenadoes, stink-pots, powder flasks was now heard as they fell into the water along side, as never the like in the harbor of L'Orient was seen or heard. Some of the ladies were much frightened and the sham fight would have continued longer had it not been that some of them entreated Capt Jones to command the firing to cease. The fight over, a band of music, which had been ordered on board by the Commandant and who had been paraded on the fore part of the quarter deck now played their part and all was glee and harmony. At about twelve at night the company took their leave of Capt Jones and the boats set them safe on shore in the same order and regularity as they came on board. . . ."

by a furious gale near the Penmarque Rocks between L'Orient and Brest. The tempest became so violent that the *Ariel* could no longer carry sail, and, having no space to drive before the wind, was nearly overturned, while the hold was so filled with water that the pumps became useless. As the depth of water was rapidly diminishing and there was no hope of salvation should the *Ariel* be driven on the rocks, which were at considerable distance from land, I cast anchor as a last resort, but after paying out two cables I could not get the ship's head to the wind and the lee yards were often under water. I was therefore forced to cut away the foremast. This produced the desired effect and the *Ariel* was brought head to the gale, but the mainmast had worked loose, and as it was greatly to be feared that it would break off above the deck or make a hole through the hull of the vessel, I ordered it cut away; it carried away the mizzen-mast and the quarter-gallery. In this situation for two days and three nights, the *Ariel* rode to her anchor on the edge of the most dangerous rocks in the world, in the midst of a tempest which strewed the shore with wrecks and which drove out to sea even the ships which were anchored in the harbor at L'Orient. It is safe to say that no vessel was ever before saved under such circumstances.

Richard Dale, commenting long afterward on his commander's conduct during this trying occasion, wrote:

Never saw I such coolness and readiness in such frightful circumstances as Paul Jones showed in the nights and days when we lay off the Penmarque Rocks, expecting every moment to be our last; and the danger was greater even than we were in when the *Bon Homme Richard* fought the *Serapis*.

On the 12th the gale had abated sufficiently for Jones to order jury masts to be rigged. He then tried to weigh anchor but failed, owing to the fact that it had caught on a rock, a circumstance to which the ship undoubtedly owed her salvation. The cable was therefore cut, and the *Ariel*, dismasted and disabled, made her way back to L'Orient.

Writing to Franklin on the 13th, Jones announced his return to the port, saying that he "owed the warmest thanks to the spirit and unremitting assistance of his officers, who behaved with a steady and composed courage that does them the highest honor. The gentlemen passengers showed a manly spirit and true greatness of mind, even when death and all its pomp stared them in the face, and I am sure that not one among them ever expected to see a returning sun."

He assured Franklin that he would begin the business of refitting the *Ariel* with the utmost despatch, but he did not fail to employ the new opportunity of this unexpected return to France to repeat his effort to gain the loan of the *Terpsichore*.

Every possible influence was again brought to bear through a multitude of letters to friends at court. Silas Deane was appealed to; and the Marquis de Castries, who had succeeded Sartine as the minister of marine, was duly furnished with a copy of Jones's plan of operation.

On the 8th of November, as he wrote to Morris, he was still waiting at L'Orient in hourly expectation of letters from the new minister respecting the plan he had proposed to the French cabinet in May.

A curious incident connected with the afterward very celebrated Commodore Truxtun occurred at this time, and is best related in a letter from Jones to Truxtun:

Orient, *October 24, 1780.*

SIR: In the execution of my public duty I wish to offend no fellow-citizen nor private individual. At the beginning of the American Revolution I was vested with a *public character* and had the honor to be promoted even before the United Colonies of North America assumed the title of sovereign, free and independent states. In my public character I hold myself accountable only to the government, from which I derive my authority. If I do you wrong as a public man, that government, on your proper application, will do you right. Every man owes respect to the government to which he belongs. The government of the United States of North America requires all her citizens to pay respect to her flag and commission, which is particularly due in foreign ports. Now, Sir, you have been wanting in this respect. You passed some time ago with the merchant ship called the *Independence*, belonging to Philadelphia, close under the stern of the continental ship *Ariel*, under my command, in the Road of Groix, and you then showed no mark of respect to the continental flag commission, but went on with the long pendant flying and without lowering any sail or color and without showing any mark of politeness. In the port of L'Orient you were not satisfied with the long pendant but you hoisted a kind of broad one and since the 12th of this month until yesterday you have worn it at your moorings in the presence of the continental ship *Ariel*. This was flying in the face of a positive resolution of Congress. When your vessel was yesterday under sail, she was steered in my presence very near the *Ariel* in passing down to Port Louis. I then sent a boat with

an officer to request yourself or your representative on board to take down the pendant in obedience to a law of Congress. The officer returned and reported to me that my boat's crew had been menaced by your people and that your mate said he had your orders to treat with contempt and disobey any order or request to haul down the pendant. When I found this, I sent Lieutenant Dale back with two boats, armed, with another polite message, and such orders as I will answer for having given. The pendant was then hauled down as he approached your ship. . . . I hope I have said enough to show you your error. . . . I shall receive no more letters from you on this subject. It is not me you have offended. You have offended the United States of America.

Your most humble servant.

This incident was probably a salutary lesson to the man who was later as well known as a disciplinarian as for courage and capacity.

Count Vauban, discouraged with his experience of the gale which had so nearly wrecked the *Ariel*, had decided to abandon his project of going to America and had returned to Paris. Thence he wrote that he had again failed to procure the influence of the Orleans family in Jones's behalf, but that upon their return to Paris he had no doubt of his being able to procure the *Terpsichore* from the court. Replying to Jones's proposition a polite letter from the new minister of marine arrived on the 6th of November, saying that the King would not alter his determination to await Jones's return from America before lending him the frigates.

Jones therefore decided that at last he must give up

all hope of realizing his desires, and began definite preparations for departure, writing a number of affectionate letters to his various friends. To Gourlade, who had given him the friendly hint to use more affability toward his officers, he wrote expressing his willingness to follow such advice and concluding his epistle with an appeal for love and remembrance. He wrote his farewell to the Countess of Nicolson, and he wrote to his beloved friend Bancroft, saying good-by with almost tearful reluctance. "I must take leave of you. No man loves and esteems you with more tender heart-felt affection than your own Paul Jones."

As an example of his epistolary style as employed in his parting letters to his fair friends, the following to the Presidente d'Ormoy will be found both graceful and interesting:

I cannot leave France without expressing how much I feel myself honored and obliged by the generous attention that you have shown to my reputation in your journal. I will ever have the most ardent desire to merit the spontaneous praise of beauty and her pen; and it is impossible to be more grateful than I am for the very polite attentions I received at Paris and Versailles. My particular thanks are due to you, Madam, for the personal proofs I have received of your esteem and friendship, and for the happiness you have procured me in the society of the charming countess, and other ladies and gentlemen of your circle. But I have a favor to ask of you, Madam, which I hope you will grant me. You tell me in your letter that the inkstand I had the honor to present to you, as a small token of my esteem, shall be reserved for the purpose of writing what concerns me;

now I wish you to see my idea in a more expanded light, and would have you make use of that inkstand to instruct mankind, and support the dignity and rights of human nature.

In a second letter of farewell to the same lady he says:

It is impossible to be more sensible than I am of the obligation conferred on me by your attentions and kind remembrance, joined to that of the belle comtesse, your fair daughters, and the amiable ladies and gentlemen of your society. I have returned without laurels and, what is worse, without having been able to render service to the glorious cause of liberty. I know not why Neptune was in such anger, unless he thought it was an affront in me to repair on his ocean with so insignificant a force. It is certain that till the night of the 8th I did not fully conceive the awful majesty of tempest and shipwreck. I can give you no just idea of the tremendous scene that Nature then presented, which surpassed the reach even of poetic fancy and the pencil. I believe no ship was ever before saved from an equal danger off the point of the Penmarque Rocks. I am extremely sorry that the young English lady you mention should have imbibed the national hatred against me. I have had proofs that many of the first and finest ladies of that nation are my friends. Indeed, I can not imagine why any fair lady should be my enemy, since, upon the large scale of universal philanthropy, I feel, acknowledge, and bend before the sovereign power of beauty. The English may hate me, but I will force them to esteem me too.

On the 4th of December Franklin sent a farewell letter to Jones saying that he should strongly solicit the payment of the prize-money which he understood was not

yet received from the King. "I hope," he continued, "soon to see the end of that affair, which has met with so many unaccountable obstructions. I enclose despatches for Congress which are to be sunk in case of danger. I wish you to make the best of your way to America and that you may have a prosperous voyage."

While waiting for further despatches, which Gourolade informed him were on the way, Jones lost a favorable wind. After ten days Franklin wrote again to bid him farewell, saying that the packet contained only newspapers, but admitted that Jones could not have been aware of this fact.

The final moment had now arrived for him to bid a reluctant adieu to the beloved nation of France, where, as he writes in his journal: "Though I have met with some difficulties I have had many reasons to be satisfied and have been charmed with the courteous behavior which so nobly marks the character of that generous minded people."

To Franklin he sent the welcome news that the pilot was on board, the wind was fair, and the ship would be under sail at daybreak. "Had Mr. Lee and his cabal been in Heaven," he observed, "the *Ariel* would have been no additional expense and the *Alliance* would have carried out the winter clothing for our army." He said that the *Ariel* was crammed full of all the arms and other supplies that she could carry and that he could only lament that he could do no more.

Leaving L'Orient finally, after six months of delay, Jones decided not to risk the value of the cargo carried in so small a vessel by any unnecessary danger of being

captured on the voyage. He therefore chose the southern passage, which was less frequented than the direct route.

When he was off the coast of Florida, he was chased by a ship which appeared to be of superior force, and endeavored to escape; but the stranger was a fast sailer and by night came within range, when Jones discovered her to be less formidable than he had believed and determined to capture her. Owing to the carelessness of the quartermaster in letting go one of the halyards, Jones was unable to haul down the English flag which he had hoisted to deceive the enemy, and to run up the American at the mast at the moment he had planned to announce his identity, and he thus failed to carry out his project of laying the enemy athwart hawse and taking her by boarding. A long conversation, therefore, ensued between the ships while Jones made preparations for his second and successful manœuvre. He ordered the captain of the *Triomphante*, for such was the name of the vessel, to come aboard him within five minutes, and on his refusal backed his ship toward the weather quarter of the enemy, and, crossing her stern, poured in a destructive broadside, which he repeated while sailing past her lee beam. After ten minutes of this effective broadsiding, in which he lost many men, the captain of the *Triomphante* surrendered, and the *Ariel's* crew gave three cheers according to the custom of the victor; but the captain of the beaten ship, who had been gradually moving ahead during the contest, now suddenly put up his helm, set his sails, and, running off before the wind, made his escape.

Jones comments upon this unwarranted action in his journal: "The English captain may properly be called a knave, because, after he had surrendered his ship, begged for and obtained quarter, he basely ran away, contrary to the laws of naval war and the practice of civilized nations."

No further incident, except the customary revolt of the English members of the crew, which was promptly subdued, marked the voyage, and on the 4th of February the *Ariel* arrived in the Delaware, and with literally no money in hand for himself or his crew the returning victor was relieved of his immediate necessities by an advance from Colonel Henry Fisher, of the Continental army. On the 18th Jones brought the ship into the harbor of Philadelphia, three years, three months, and sixteen days from the date of his departure in the *Ranger*.

CHAPTER XXI

RETURN TO AMERICA

ON the 1st of October, 1779, pursuant to the advice which had many times been tendered to the marine committee by Jones, a board of admiralty had been appointed, and to this body had now been delegated the duty of investigating the causes of the detention in Europe of the military stores intended for Washington's armies. On the 19th of February, 1781, the board laid before Congress sundry letters from Franklin bearing upon the matter. On the motion of Mr. Bee and Mr. Varnum, it was resolved to summon Captain Paul Jones, lately arrived from France, to appear before Congress on the following Monday to lay before them every information in his power relative to the detention of the clothing and arms belonging to the United States in France and that the doors be open during such examination. After debate a motion was made by Mr. Samuel Adams that the further consideration thereof be postponed, and this motion passed in the affirmative.

This prompt summons for Jones to appear before Congress, and to be examined with "open doors," was in response to the general and public indignation in regard to the detention of the supplies during a time when Washington's armies were in the most needy condition

and the success of the Revolutionary struggle in the gravest doubt.

Samuel Adams's motion was prompted by his distrust of Jones in particular, a distrust which he had imbibed from Arthur Lee and his faction in Congress, and which had been so increased by a letter from Lee's coadjutor, Commodore Gillon, in which he had stated that Jones had commanded an "amphibious squadron of French privateers" in Europe and had improperly issued American commissions to their commanders, that he had determined that Jones's conduct should be subjected to the most rigid examination. Samuel Adams was also of the impression that Landais had been unfairly dealt with in the decisions of the court-martial, and intended both at this time and later that Landais should receive impartial justice and that the machinations of Landais's implacable enemy, Paul Jones, should be brought to naught. In pursuance of this determination and in obedience to his motion, Congress now directed the board of admiralty to inquire into Jones's conduct, and the secretary, Mr. Brown, drew up forty-seven questions for Jones to answer, which covered the whole period intervening between his departure from America on the *Ranger* and his return to Philadelphia. Jones immediately set about the business of preparing his replies, but in the interval allowed him he submitted to the president of Congress Franklin's laudatory note of recommendation and Sartine's letter announcing the King's gift of the sword and his Majesty's desire that he should be permitted to bear the title and decoration of the Order of Military Merit.

Without waiting for Jones's answers to the questions of the admiralty board, Congress was so moved by these brilliant testimonials from the French King and Franklin that it promptly passed, on the 27th of February, the following very flattering resolutions:

Resolved, That Congress entertain a high sense of the distinguished bravery and military conduct of John Paul Jones, esq., captain in the navy of the United States, and particularly in his victory over the British frigate ship of war *Serapis*, on the coast of England, which was attended with circumstances so brilliant as to excite general applause and admiration:

That the minister plenipotentiary of these United States at the Court of Versailles communicate to his Most Christian Majesty the high satisfaction Congress have received from the information of Mons. de Sartine, that the conduct and gallant behaviour of Captain J. P. Jones have merited the attention and approbation of his Most Christian Majesty; and that his Majesty's offer of adorning Captain Jones with a cross of military merit is highly acceptable to Congress.

In his "Journal for Louis XVI" Jones states that "The Chevalier de la Luzerne informed Congress that his Majesty had honored me with a gold sword and offered to adorn me with the Royal Order of Military Merit, which would constitute, as his Majesty presumed, *another bond between the two nations*. Congress, in consequence, deferred the general confederation of the United States in order to pass a resolution authorizing me to bear the Order of Military Merit, the resolution being duly passed on the 27th of February, 1781."

A curious confirmation of this statement is found in the records of Congress, where the resolution as it is preserved in its original form is seen to have been altered in the handwriting of Samuel Huntington, then president of that body.¹

Among the Articles of Confederation, which were formally ratified on March 1, 1781, a provision existed forbidding any American citizen to accept a title from any foreign sovereign or state. After three years' delay the last State, Maryland, had finally declared for the articles, and Congress was on the point of announcing their ratification when the French minister communicated his sovereign's desire to honor Jones with his order and title. If the action of Congress in appointing Jones to the command of the *Ranger* on the same day in which it decreed the adoption of the national banner had no

¹ "The committee, to whom was referred the letter of 30 May, 1780, from Mons. de Sartine, delivered in a report; Whereupon, *Resolved*, That Congress entertain a high sense of the distinguished bravery and military conduct of John Paul Jones, esq., captain in the navy of the United States, and particularly in his victory over the British ship of war *Serapis*, on the coast of England, which was attended with circumstances so brilliant as to excite general applause and admiration:

"That the minister plenipotentiary of these United States at the Court of Versailles communicate to his Most Christian Majesty the high satisfaction Congress have received from the information of Mons. de Sartine, that the conduct and gallant behaviour of Captain J. P. Jones have merited the attention and approbation of his Most Christian Majesty; [and that every instance of his majesty's favour not inconsistent with these articles by which these States have confederated and which may tend to unite more closely the people of two nations already united by such strict bonds of common interest will be highly acceptable to Congress] and [particularly] that his Majesty's offer of adorning Captain Jones with the cross of military merit, [is highly acceptable to Congress.]"*

* This report, in the writing of William Sharpe, except the part in parentheses, which is in Samuel Huntington's hand, is in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*, No. 19, III, folio 297. The words from "Majesty's" to "Congress" inclusive, as well as "particularly," are crossed over but legible.

intentional significance, there was very great proof of the enthusiasm with which they received the announcement of the King's will to distinguish him, in their willingness to postpone the ratification of the general confederation of the States and to alter the records so that he might wear his title. This honor, bestowed in so remarkable a manner, he shared with no other citizen of America.¹

Thus authorized by the American Government, the French minister, the Chevalier de la Luzerne, gave an entertainment to the notable citizens of Philadelphia and the members of Congress, and in the name of the King invested Jones with the cross and title of the Order of Military Merit. Jones was characteristically exceedingly proud of both title and decoration, habitually wore the cross and loved to be addressed by the title, using it at this time in his signature and even

¹ ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION

Article VI (first paragraph only). No State, without the consent of the United States in Congress assembled, shall send any embassy to, or receive any embassy from, or enter into any conference, agreement, alliance or treaty with any King, prince, or state; nor shall any person holding any office of profit or trust under the United States, or any of them, accept of any present, emolument, office or title of any kind whatever from any King, prince, or foreign state; nor shall the United States in Congress assembled, or any of them, grant any title of nobility.

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

Section IX (eighth paragraph only). No title of Nobility shall be granted by the United States: and no Person holding any office of profit or trust under them, shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any King, Prince, or Foreign State.

It is a possible surmise that some recollection of the embarrassment connected with the foreign honors accorded to Jones induced the framers of the Constitution to insert the phrase "without the consent of Congress" into the above provision.

referring to himself as "the Chevalier" in his familiar letters.

It was not without some murmurings of discontent among his democratic fellow-citizens that he was permitted to bear his order and title. Writing to Vergennes's secretary M. de Rayneval, the Chevalier de la Luzerne commented upon the matter, sending at the same time a pertinent quotation from the *Philadelphia Gazette*:

You will find, Monsieur, some very unrestrained expressions in the *Gazette* upon the consent of Congress that Commodore Jones should receive the Cross of Military Merit with which his Majesty has honored him. It is true, as this *Gazette* affirms, that the Articles of Confederation forbid any individual in the service of the state to accept any gift, office or title from the monarchs, princes, or governors of foreign states, but the resolution of Congress in favor of Paul Jones is prior by two days to the accession of Maryland.

The quotation from the *Gazette* contained the remark that "The King of France was perfectly aware of the provisions of the Articles of Confederation and would consider it very inconsistent for good Americans either to accept or desire any foreign distinction, and would view with regret any derogation on the part of Congress to the Constitution by such, particularly as the honor was accorded at the very moment when Congress was proclaiming the ratification of the Confederation."

The author of this trenchant article concluded his remarks by a very sharp criticism of the Congressional

order to close the doors during the consideration of the resolution, observing that "if the doors had been open, very many members would not have dared to vote for it." Congress was in no wise influenced by these complaints and proceeded to ratify the articles by which the confederation of the States was cemented with public rejoicing. The "gallant Paul Jones" also (it is recorded) celebrated the adoption of the articles with salutes of cannon from the gayly decorated *Ariel*.¹

Jones's answers to the questions of the board of admiralty were ready on March 21 and duly presented, and were found entirely satisfactory. Frank, clear, and detailed, they presented an admirable narrative of his services, were perspicuous in their replies to the points in question, and left no doubt as to his courage or integrity. He invited an investigation of the confirmatory letters which accompanied his answers to the questions of the board, and left the approbation of his conduct to the judgment of Congress. As to his share of the responsibility in the detention of the military stores, he forbore to assign any reasons, except to state that he had waited ten or twelve days for despatches when he was ready for the second time to sail with the *Ariel*. His reasons for delaying during the months of August and September formed no share of his report.

Congress was so convinced of the undeniable culpability of Landais and Lee, and so impressed by the equally undeniable proofs of Jones's valor and earnest desire to serve the cause of America, that the principal point in

¹ Moore's "Diary of the American Revolution."

the inquiry was not pressed and no criticism of any kind was passed upon his conduct. This result was probably partly due to the fact that Franklin's written replies to the same inquiry as to the detention of the military supplies, which arrived opportunely on the 17th of March, contained full information in regard to the illegal departure of the *Alliance*, "due to the interference of some meddling passengers," but laid no blame upon Captain Jones. Whatever Franklin's opinion might have been in regard to Jones's prolonged and fruitless efforts to procure additional ships from the French court, it was not communicated to the board of admiralty, who regarded Jones's desire to provide for the transportation of the entire quantity of the military stores as a proper and admirable effort to be of service to his country. The loss of the brig *Luke*, which had sailed the second time without convoy and had been captured with her cargo of clothing for the army, was also laid to the account of Gourolade and Moylan, who, according to Jones, had sent the vessel out without his knowledge.

The report of the board of admiralty, penned in the most enthusiastic phrases, stated that that body on examination was "fully satisfied that the delay had not been owing in any measure to the want of the closest attention on the part of the Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States, who had on the contrary, made every effort to accomplish that purpose, but that it was owing to Captain Landais' taking the command of the *Alliance* contrary to the express orders of Dr. Franklin and proceeding to America." The re-

port then set forth the sentence of the court-martial held on Landais's return, and stated that after he had been dismissed the service further prosecution was deemed improper. It also stated that Jones had vainly endeavored to procure additional ships, but that the court of France had furnished no money to the American minister to enable him to procure one. The report stated that "ever since Captain Jones became an officer in the navy of these States he hath shown an unremitted attention in planning and executing enterprises calculated to promote the interests of our glorious cause." His services in the cruise of the *Ranger* and with the squadron which had captured the *Serapis* and *Countess of Scarborough* were then enumerated with the unexampled and gloriously won tribute that "he hath made the flagg of America respectable among the flaggs of other nations." The board, in conclusion, reported the opinion that "the conduct of J. Paul Jones merits particular attention and some distinguished mark of appreciation from the United States in Congress assembled."

Pursuant to this opinion of the admiralty board, Congress passed, on the 14th of April, the following resolutions of thanks to Jones and his officers:

Resolved, That the thanks of the United States, in Congress assembled, be given to Captain John Paul Jones, for the zeal, prudence, and intrepidity with which he hath supported the honour of the American flag; for his bold and successful enterprises, to redeem from captivity the citizens of these States, who had fallen under the power of the enemy; and, in general, for the good

conduct and eminent services by which he has added lustre to his character and to the American arms.

That the thanks of the United States, in Congress assembled, be also given to the officers and men who have faithfully served under him from time to time, for their steady affection to the cause of their country, and the bravery and perseverance they have manifested therein.

Jones's reply to the president of Congress, who had personally communicated this glorious testimonial, is here appended:

PHILADELPHIA, *April 28, 1781.*

SIR:

I have recieved the letter your Excellency did me the honor to write on the 18th, enclosing a resolution of the United States in Congress assembled, dated the 14th of the month, and aproving of and thanking me for my past conduct as captain in the Navy, after having taken into consideration the report made thereupon from full evidence of the Board of Admiralty the 28th of March last. That generous vote of thanks must necessarily gratify my fine feelings both as an officer and as a man. I can aspire to no higher honor than the approbation and confidence of my fellow citizens.

Accept, Sir, my sincere thanks for the polite and affectionate manner in which you have communicated to me the general approbation and thanks of the United States in Congress assembled.

I am, with great esteem and profound respect,
 Your Excellencys most obliged servant,
 THE CHEVALIER PAUL JONES.

His Excellency Samuel Huntington Esq.

President of the United States in Congress Assembled.

The next in order of these truly glorious testimonials is a letter from Washington, written in reply to the following from Jones, who had wished to vindicate himself from all blame on account of the detention of the military stores and to procure from the greatest of Americans a precious tribute of his approbation:

PHILADELPHIA *May 7th 1781.*

SIR.

As I understand it has been insinuated to your Excellency that I have been to blame for the detention in France of the military stores and clothing for the American armies under your command, I beg leave to refer you to Mr Duane who carries with him a copy of my examination for your perusal. My conduct from the first has been strictly examined and meets with the unanimous approbation and thanks of the United States in Congress assembled. Since my examination I have, at the request of some particular friends, written a concise narrative of my proceedings since the beginning of the War. Mr Duane has expressed a desire to take with him a copy of that narrative for your satisfaction. There is not sufficient time to make out a copy before Mr Duane leaves this city but if it will afford you any satisfaction I will forward you a copy with great pleasure. Our Navy has been badly conducted: it has ever been without a head, and is now almost entirely lost; though its operations have done little for the cause and less for the flag. I have pointed out many desirable operations that promised success and would have taught the barbarous Britons (*sic*) humanity: but my voice has been a cry in the desert. The importance and necessity of a Marine establishment does not appear sufficiently impressed on the minds of our legislature. In this moment, unemployed in actual service, I should

be happy if supported by your influence I could be instrumental to put the naval force that remains on a more useful and honorable footing: so as soon to employ it to distract and distress the enemy. With the most ardent desire to merit your esteem and approbation, to imitate your virtues and to catch from your example the *wise enthusiasm* that marks the character of the true hero, I am

Your Excellencys most respectfl and most obedient servant.

THE CHEVALIER PAUL JONES.

Washington's reply is as follows:

HEADQUARTERS NEW WINDSOR.

19th May. 1781.

SIR.

My partial acquaintance with either our naval or commercial affairs makes it altogether impossible for me to account for the unfortunate delay of those articles of military stores and clothing which have been so long provided in France. Had I any particular reasons to have suspected you of being accessory to that delay, which I assure you has not been the case, my suspicions would have been removed by the very full and satisfactory answers which you have to the best of my judgment made to the questions proposed to you by the board of Admiralty and upon which that board have, in their report to Congress, testified to the high sense which they entertain of your merit and services.

Whether our naval affairs have, in general, been well or ill conducted it would be presumptuous for me to determine. Instances of bravery and good conduct in several of our officers, have not, however, been wanting. Delicacy forbids me to mention that *particular one*, which has attracted the admiration of all the world,

and which has influenced a most illustrious monarch to confer a mark of his favor which can only be obtained by a long and honourable service, or by the performance of some brilliant action.

That you may long enjoy the reputation you have so justly acquired, is the sincere wish of, Sir, your most obedient and very humble servant.

These highly gratifying testimonials and the favor¹ with which he was universally received in Philadelphia now led Jones to believe that the moment was ripe to correct the injustice which had been done him in the arrangement of rank adopted in October, 1776, by which he had been superseded by thirteen officers who had entered the service after his appointment. He therefore, on May 28, addressed a memorial to Congress in which he modestly rested his pretensions to rank only on the commissions which he held as the

¹John Adams's correspondent and intimate friend, the celebrated Dr. Rush of Philadelphia, was not only the author of many medical treatises but a very keen observer of men and of manners. Among the letters, diaries, and "pen portraits" of his celebrated contemporaries, lately published by his great-grandson Mr. Louis Biddle, of Philadelphia, is the following of Paul Jones:

"Commodore John Paul Jones. He united in his military character the boldness which is produced by madness, the bravery which is the effect of animal spirits, and the courage which is the result of reflection. He once put into my hands a history of his naval exploits. He exulted in having first hoisted the American flag on board the first armed vessel that was commissioned by the United States. I heard him give a minute account of his engagement with the *Serapis* in a small circle at dinner. It was delivered with great apparent modesty, and commanded the most respectful attention. Towards the close of the battle while his deck was swimming in blood, the Captain of the *Serapis* called him to strike. 'No sir!' said he, 'I will not, we have had but a small fight yet.' He had been well educated in Scotland his native country and discovered style in both writing and conversation. His countenance was strongly marked with thought. I know nothing of his private character."

eldest of the first grade of lieutenants in the navy under the United Colonies, "because by all rules of military promotion that commission entitles me to rank before all persons who did not enter into the sea service of the continent as early as myself, unless preference had been given to other gentlemen on account of their known superior abilities, which has not been the case."¹

The committee to which his claim was referred, consisting of Messrs. Vernon, Clymer, and Mathews, was the same which had reported the laudatory resolutions which had been ratified by Congress in April. Mr. Vernon informed Jones that the committee was agreed that he had been unfairly treated in the assignment of naval rank and that he and his colleagues were of the opinion that his conduct and services entitled him to be promoted to the rank of rear-admiral. The report of the committee stated that it had not been able to ascertain fully the rules by which the arrangement in regard to naval rank had been made on October 10, 1776, by which Captain James Nicholson had been placed first and Captain Jones eighteenth, as that arrangement was not conformable to times of appointment or dates of commission. It stated that Captain Nicholson was appointed later than four other captains, and if regard was paid to the date of Jones's appointment as captain, he should stand fifth on the list, and if the date of his appointment as lieutenant should be taken into account, he should be second and Whipple first.

Before Congress had time to act upon this report,

¹ Quotation from rough draft of Jones's journal for Louis XVI, found in Sands' "Life and Correspondence of J. Paul Jones."

opposition so acute and determined arose among the officers who now stood above Jones that Congress re-committed the report with the endorsement, "Not to be acted upon."¹

The manner in which this perfectly legitimate effort on Jones's part to be restored to his proper rank was frustrated by his jealous colleagues is most vividly related in a letter from Captain Nicholson to Barry:²

PHILADA. *June 24th 1781.*—

DR. BARRY,

After congratulating you on your safe arrival and success, I shall without any apology relate to you what has been Transacting in this Quarter relative to rank for this week past, it still hangs over our head & requires every Exertion of Interest to prevent its taking place. The Attempt has been bold & Daring and is only equaled by the man who made it.

The Chevalier ever since his arrival in this City has devoted his time, privately, by making personal application to the Individual members of Congress to give him rank at the head of our Navy, and after Interesting (by being an accomplished Courtier), every member who was weak, or of his own stamp in his favor, hands into Congress a Narrative of his services from the beginning of time containing the best part of a Quire of paper, and attended with a modest petition setting forth the injustice he had done him in the Establishment of rank and desire of redress &ca. This had the desired effect, and he had a Committee of Congress consistg. of Genl. Vernon, Mr. Mathews & Mr. Clymer appointed to en-

¹ When it was reconsidered, on August 24, the "thinness of Congress" prevented any action.

² Letter in the collection of the late Captain John H. Barnes, New York City.

quire into his Claim and to make report, they accordingly did and in his favor. Congress was upon the point of taking the report up, and I have too much reason to believe would have gratified the height of his ambition had we not by the greatest accident discovered it, this was done by information a member of Congress gave Mrs. Reade in whose house he lived, he was also on the most familiar terms with myself, so far he had proceeded without the least suspicion on our side. As soon as I was informed of it, I immediately took my Hat and with very little Ceremony waited on the President of Congress at his house, & informed what I had heard, he received me politely & told me my suspicions was just, I therefore desired as my right that Congress might delay determining on it until Cap. Reade & myself in behalf of ourselves & the absent brother officers equally concerned, should have an opportunity of being heard, which he promised me his Interest to have done, and that day Cap. Reade & myself threw in our remonstrance to Congress a Copy of mine you have Enclosed, the Consequence of which was the Committee was ordered to reconsider it and to give us notice to attend, we accordingly did & found Cap. Jones without doors in conference with two of them, Cap. Jones did not attend, I desired the Chairman would send for him, the reason I assigned was that I would say many things in his presence that I would not in his absence, he sent word that he would wait on us but never came, we found the President & Mr. Mathews predetermined in his favor, but Mr. Climer otherwise, after pointing out the absurdity of his claim which proceeded from a Brevial from Commodore Hopkins to the Command of the Sloop *Providence* were from his own claim, Capts. Whipple, Hallock, yourself, & Alexander were Capts. before him. I say after pointing out this to them, the President appeared to be convinced,

but if so in reality I wont pretend to say. We had a good deal of conversation with the Committee, Mr. Mathews alone seemed his most strenuous advocate and in my opinion behaved obstinate & ungentiel. I said many things pretty severe of the Chevaliers private as well as Public Carrector too odious to mention and yet unnoticed, upon the whole we acquitted ourselves well. It happened five days ago and they have not yet made their report. Should it be in his favor again, I have some reason to believe the honest part as well as those who had been imposed on from their ignorance about our Naval Transactions and the method of Establishing rank, are now sufficiently alarmed, and should the report be taken up at all, they will not determine in his favor. Your arrival & success came very opportunily and I did not fail to make use of it I mean outdoors in presence of Cap. Jones & some of his advocated Members, by observing that you had acquit yourself well, which they acknowledged. I then told them they could not do less than make you Admiral also. I had not a sentense of reply. It irritated the Chevalier so much that he was obliged to decamp. I yesterday was informed by a Member of Congress a friend of mine that they had received a letter from Bob Morris (The Financier) that he would undertake to Fitt out immediately my Ship & the 74 and if they agreed to it, there would be a necessity for appointing a Cap. to her immediately, and at the same time asked if I would accept the Command of her. I refused but at the same time pointed out the necessity of the next Senior officer having the offer & so down, and in case none of them would accept untill it came to the Chevalier that then he should have the offer, he seemed convinced from the arguments I made use of of the Necessity of this mode as the only one that would give satisfaction and make our Navy of repute. How it will

operate with Congress I cant undertake to determine. I also let him understand that you was already appointed to her. I have very good reason to believe that Bob Morris' views are solely to serve him, but be that as it may, he has my consent, as I am convinced he will never get her to sea. It will suit his Vanity & only tend to expose himself and his friends in Congress.

I have now 120 men onbd., and as Bob Morris has undertaken to supply us with money expect to get to sea in a fortnight.

I now conclude with assuring you I remain Yrs most sincerely

JAS. NICHOLSON.

Very shortly after this abortive attempt to be reinstated in his proper rank the board of admiralty was dissolved and Robert Morris, already acting as minister of finance, was appointed agent of marine. As far as the conditions of the already disorganized navy permitted, Jones's interests were now in a fair way of being properly taken care of, Morris, as always, being his enthusiastic friend and constant advocate. On the 23d of June Morris was authorized by Congress to take immediate measures for the equipping and launching of the first ship of the line, the *America*, then on the stocks in Portsmouth, New Hampshire.

On the same day Congress decreed that within three days a commander should be appointed. Bound to this haste, Congress, on the 26th, proceeded to ballot for the commander, with the result that Jones was unanimously elected. It was significant of the great esteem with which Jones was regarded by Congress and the country at large that Arthur Lee joined in the unanimous vote

to give him the command of the *America*. John Adams also, writing from The Hague, at news of this appointment, wrote a handsome acknowledgment of his services and deserved reputation:

The command of the *America* could not have been more judiciously bestowed, and it is with impatience that I wish her at sea where she will do honor to her name. Nothing gives me so much surprise, or so much regret, as the inattention of my countrymen to their navy; it is a bulwark as essential to us as it is to Great Britain. It is less costly than armies; and more easily removed from one end of the United States to the other. . . . Indeed if I could see a prospect of half a dozen lines of battle ships under the American flag, commanded by Commodore Paul Jones, engaged with an equal British force, I apprehend the event would be so glorious for the United States, and lay so sure a foundation for their prosperity, that it would be a rich compensation for the continuance of the war.¹

In spite of the lack of personal sympathy between Jones and Adams, which the latter expressed until the end of his long life, there were grounds for mutual appreciation in their public acts. Adams's greatest service to the United States in Europe, the procuring of the Dutch loan, was undoubtedly facilitated by the sympathy with the American colonies aroused by Jones's victories and his conduct in Holland. Adams's original services in carrying through Congress the resolutions for the formation of the navy of the Revolution should have recommended him to Jones's consideration, as well as his continual recommendations for the estab-

¹ Letter of August 12, 1782.

lishment of a permanent marine. "I have toasted the wooden walls, the floating castles and the floating citadels of the United States for six and thirty years," the old man wrote in the year 1809, "and I now rejoice to find that many persons now begin to drink my toasts with huzzas."

In spite of Nicholson's statement that the honor of commanding the *America* had been offered to Barry and other officers, and notwithstanding the fact that the *America* was still far from completion, great jealousy arose in the service, and several officers threatened to resign their commissions. Although Nicholson's opinion that the *America* would never get to sea might possibly have been shared by others, the honor of commanding the first ship of the line, carrying with it the rank of the head of the navy, was coveted by other officers who were nominated by their friends. Jones was highly satisfied, therefore, with his unanimous election, and drew the conclusion that by virtue of an act of Congress passed on November 15, 1776, establishing parity of rank between the army and the navy, he held a rank equivalent to that of colonel. "With the exclusive rank of Captain of the Line, while none of the other captains, as they had only commanded frigates under forty guns, could claim any higher rank than that of Lieutenant-Colonel."

"Thus," he says in his journal, "Congress took a delicate method to avoid cabal and to do justice. It was more agreeable to Captain Jones to be so honourably elected captain of the line than to have been, as was proposed by the committee, raised at once to the rank

of rear admiral, because Congress had not then the means of giving a command suitable to that rank."

Having now received satisfaction as to his place in the navy, Jones applied to Congress, on the advice of Morris, for a settlement of his accounts. He had received a small share of prize-money from some of his captures, but not a farthing of pay up to this period. His accounts were approved as exhibited, but as he had left in blank the amount due for his expenses and for the interest on the sums he had advanced to the government, no allowance was made for these items and no heed paid to his delicacy in leaving the reimbursement of the amount due him to the gratitude of Congress. It was far easier in those days for Congress to pay for services in laudatory resolutions than in ducats. Although authorized by Congress, his accepted accounts remained unpaid, and in this emergency he was forced to ask a small advance for his daily expenses and a sum sufficient to defray the cost of his journey to Portsmouth. Morris advanced this sum and in July Jones departed from Philadelphia. He observes in his journal that "he had, like many other supporters of the Revolution, hurt his private fortune by the early advances he had made to the Continental Loan Office."

Morris, always ready to support him in his plans for service to the country, assured him that within six months he would surely be able to put to sea in the *America*, and approved of the plan he had submitted to the French minister of forming a combined squadron to attack the coasts of England. Jones therefore left Philadelphia, as he wrote in his journal, "with the

pleasing hope of being soon in a situation which would enable him to manifest his gratitude for the honors he had received by rendering essential services to the common cause of France and America."

On his way to Portsmouth the newly made chevalier paid a visit to General Washington and Count Rochambeau at White Plains, where the combined armies were encamped.

Jones's journal relates that it was hinted to him on this occasion that he might offend the people of the Eastern States by wearing his cross of the Order of Military Merit, and he therefore laid it aside on his departure from head-quarters.

On his arrival in Portsmouth, toward the end of August, he found, as he relates in his journal, "that his prospects were greatly circumscribed and involved in many difficulties which neither himself nor his friends had foreseen in Philadelphia. The *America*, instead of being ready to be launched, was not half built, and there was neither timber, iron, nor any other material prepared for finishing it." Morris, called upon to finance the secret expeditions of Washington's army against Cornwallis in the South, was unable to furnish Jones with adequate funds. The business, however, was begun immediately, and some progress made in the construction before the winter.

On hearing of the expedition against Cornwallis, in which his friend Lafayette was destined to play so brilliant a part, Jones, who pined always for action, asked to be permitted to join Lafayette's army. The letter, however, arrived on the very eve of Lafayette's de-

parture, and on December 22d, after the decisive victory which practically put an end to the war, Lafayette wrote Jones the following affectionate letter in regard to his application:

I have been honored with your polite favour, my dear Paul Jones, but before it reached me I was already on board the *Alliance*, and every minute expecting to put to sea. It would have afforded me great satisfaction to pay my respects to the inhabitants of Portsmouth, and the State in which you are for the present. As to the pleasure to take you by the hand, my dear Paul Jones, you know my affectionate sentiments, and my very great regard for you, so that I need not add anything on that subject.

Accept of my best thanks for the kind expressions in your letter. His Lordship's (Lord Cornwallis) downfall is a great event, and the greater as it was equally and amicably shared by the two allied nations. Your coming to the army I had the honour to command would have been considered as a very flattering compliment to one who loves you and knows your worth. I am impatient to hear that you are ready to sail, and I am of opinion that we ought to unite under you every Continental ship we can muster, with such a body of well-appointed marines (*troupes de mer*) as might cut a good figure ashore, and then give you plenty of provisions and *carte blanche*.

I am sorry I cannot see you; I also had many things to tell you. Write me by good opportunities, but not often in ciphers, unless the matter is very important.

Jones was therefore condemned to the tedious business of overseeing the long-drawn-out building of the *America*. Some diversion was furnished by the at-

tempts of the English to destroy the ship, and he was forced to apply to the assembly of the State of New Hampshire for a guard. None being furnished, in spite of affirmative resolutions, Jones himself and his master-builder took turns in watching nightly mysterious whale-boats filled with men, which, with muffled oars, passed and repassed in the river.

That Jones enjoyed the hospitality and friendship of several of the leading officers in the navy, as well as those of the army, is shown in a letter written by him on September 7, 1781, to Captain Barry, which is not only expressed in terms of familiar and friendly intimacy, but contains references to Captain J. Nicholson and to General Sullivan.¹ In the letter to Barry he writes that General Sullivan has informed him of the subject of a letter Barry had some time ago received from Philadelphia, saying that "He will learn henceforth how to credit such information." The letter was probably the one already quoted from Captain Nicholson, in regard to Jones's attempt to be restored to his proper rank in the navy. The reference to the "Cocade," which had already been adopted by the officers in the American service abroad, and which Barry had asked from Jones to introduce it in America, is interesting.

¹ Several letters of Jones to Sullivan are preserved, which indicate that he was the honored guest of the man whose nephew he was reported to have cruelly caned for some insubordination at L'Orient. This incident, with the further scandalous report that Lieutenant Sullivan had justly and publicly castigated Captain Jones for the flagrant injustice of which he had been the victim, was related by Fanning and widely repeated in the British gazettes.

Enclosed, dear Barry, I have the honor to send you the Cocade I promised, as I forgot to deliver it when I breakfasted with you at Boston. The Blue in it may with propriety be adopted as the national cocade of America leaving the Black to England, which is the true emblem of the character of that dark minded nation. The White is intended to represent the spotless purity of intention and the sincere friendship of our illustrious ally towards these Sovereign Independent States, as the Red may represent the glowing friendship of Spain. I wish to see this Cocade worn by the officers of the Navy at least until a better one can be devised. It is known in France as our Cocade of Tripple Alliance, and I have on particular desire presented many of them to the first characters in Europe. Present, if you please, my best compliments to Mrs. Barry. Present also, if you please, my best compliments to the French Officers of the Navy. I lament not having been able to pay them my respects on board their ships, and particularly not having seen my friend the Chevalier de la Touche. . . .

Arriving at Portsmouth in August, 1781, he was condemned to remain in the little colonial town for more than a year, for it was not until late in the autumn of 1782 that the *America* was ready to be launched. He was again received on terms of intimacy in the house of Governor Langdon, although probably with diminished cordiality by Captain Simpson's relative, the rich and well-connected Mr. Wendell. The houses where he lodged, and the hospitable mansions where he was received as guest, are still pointed out by the residents of Portsmouth and recorded in local publications. A reminiscence of the chevalier walking under a red umbrella through the streets of the town is related by a

granddaughter of an old resident. Private letters are preserved with care by several whose ancestors had the honor of his friendship. He became very intimate with Secretary Brown of the board of admiralty, who had been transferred to the navy board, eastern department, and paid a number of visits to him in Boston, where he looked with favor upon a fair lady of Brown's acquaintance, dreaming again his old dream of a "life of calm contemplation and poetic ease," in a home of his own, in the beloved country of his adoption. He employed his leisure hours at Portsmouth in the study of naval authorities, perfecting and enlarging his knowledge of his profession by a careful study of the biographies of European naval officers and the theory of naval tactics. Except for the fact that he saw his opportunities for the large command, which he was so competent to conduct, becoming less and less as the navy dwindled to a vanishing point and the war approached its conclusion, this year at Portsmouth might be considered the most serene of his life.

He celebrated the announcement of the birth of the Dauphin with such appropriate and elegant ceremonies at his own expense that he received the thanks of the French minister, and on the 4th of July he also celebrated the anniversary of the Declaration of Independence on the still unfinished *America*. He hastened the construction of the vessel by all the means in his power, and at last saw that it was finished to his satisfaction and according to his plans. It was adorned by a crowned figure of Justice at the prow and two figures in bas-relief at the stern, representing "Conquered

Tyranny and Oppression." "The ship," he said, "although the largest of the seventy-four guns in the world, had the air of a delicate frigate, and no person at a distance of a mile could have imagined she had a second battery." The *America* was not destined to bear him to those triumphs of which he had so long dreamed. At the close of the summer, when she was just ready for launching, a squadron of French ships of the line, under the Marquis de Vaudreuil, entered the harbor of Boston, and one of them, the *Magnifique*, stranding on a rock, went to the bottom. Congress, in gratitude for the invaluable assistance of their ally, was moved to present the *America* to France to replace the ship which was lost. With consolatory hints of employing Jones in some other manner, Morris announced to Jones the decision of Congress, expressing his sympathy with the loss of his command and asking him to superintend the launching of the vessel. The letter in which Jones acknowledged this communication was so magnanimous that Morris immediately submitted it to Congress.

On the 5th of November the *America* was safely launched, and on the same day Jones delivered her to the Chevalier de Martigne, who had commanded the *Magnifique*. He set out for Philadelphia the following morning, and there learned that "unforeseen circumstances" had defeated a friendly project of Morris's to employ him on a "secret expedition."

Morris was still very anxious to provide Jones with a ship, and now attempted to give him the *Indien*, which, after many delays, had at last been completed and de-

livered to the French Government, which had loaned her for three years to the Chevalier de Luxembourg. That nobleman rented her to Commodore Gillon, through the recommendation of M. de Chaumont, contracting for his share of the profits arising from the sale of the prizes. Under the name of the *South Carolina* she had seen service under Commodore Gillon, whose habit it was to leave every port in arrears for his expenses. After nearly three years she was brought into Philadelphia in a condition which necessitated extensive repairs. The Chevalier de Luxembourg, on behalf of the French King, consented that she should now, at the expiration of the contract with Gillon, be placed under Jones's command. It was Morris's desire to give him several other ships as well, so as to realize Jones's ambition at last to command a squadron of respectable force.

Commodore Gillon, although arrested for debt and wholly unable to pay for repairs or to account for the prize-money, still refused to surrender the vessel, which set sail without him and was captured by the enemy. She was an unlucky ship and the merchant who built her in Holland was ruined by the contract.

M. de Chaumont, who in his desire to advance Gillon as a rival to Jones had encouraged him to ask Franklin for the command of the ships of Jones's old squadron, must have found the ambitious Carolinian a very unreliable candidate for these honors.

With the failure of Morris's last effort to get possession of the *Indien*, Jones realized that his hopes of obtaining a command in America had vanished into thin

air. In his journal for Louis XVI he enumerates the nineteen war-ships representing the colonial navy at the time he presented his plans to the French ministry. He states that during the long interval in which he was delayed in France and during his passage to America, the maritime forces of the colonies had greatly diminished. Five frigates had been taken at Penobscot and Charleston, two others had been captured at sea, three more stranded or burned, so that only the *Alliance*, the *Deane*, and the *America* remained of the fleet. Barry being in possession of the *Alliance*, and the *America* having been presented to France, one frigate alone, the *Deane*, of thirty guns, remained to be given to Jones. Under these circumstances, Jones now turned his attention to the possibility of embarking as a volunteer in the French fleet under the command of the Marquis de Vaudreuil, and on the 19th of November requested Morris to recommend Congress to grant his desire of thus obtaining "military marine knowledge in order the better to serve my country when America should increase her navy."

Promptly acceding to this request, Morris sent Jones's letter to Congress, with the remark that "the present state of our affairs not permitting him to employ that valuable officer, he desired to express his great concern that there was so little probability that he would be able to render his talents useful to that country which he had already so faithfully served and with so great disinterestedness." Pursuant of Morris's recommendation Congress resolved, with laudatory expressions in regard to Jones's desire of acquiring experience

in the line of his profession, that the agent of marine in Boston should recommend him to the Marquis de Vaudreuil.

Bearing letters from Morris and the Chevalier de La Luzerne, Jones immediately reported at Boston and was received with high marks of distinction by the admiral of the French fleet. A part of Rochambeau's army was embarked on the flag-ship under the command of the Baron de Vioménil. Jones was also given excellent quarters on the *Triomphante*, and, with sixty officers at table, he found himself in very congenial company.

The squadron, consisting of ten sail of the line, sailed for the West Indies, arriving after various evolutions off Porto Rico. Count D'Estaing was ordered to the same region, and a rendezvous at Cap François had been secretly arranged between Vaudreuil and the Spanish admiral Don Solano. Rumors of the near presence of Admirals Hood and Pigott, at the head of important squadrons, were communicated to them, and Jones had the prospect of seeing considerable action. A series of misfortunes and errors were destined to disappoint these hopes and to moderate his high opinion of the superior strategy and skill of the French marine officers. The transports were lost sight of. The *Burgoyne*, stranding on a rock, was totally lost, the English fleets failed to put in an appearance, and Don Solano, superseded and recalled from Havana, failed to join Vaudreuil either at Cap François or Porto Cabello. The unexplained failure of Don Solano to make the promised juncture with the French fleet so disappointed the officers that many of them sickened in the tropical climate, and Jones him-

self, who never could endure inaction, became dangerously ill. He had hoped, as he said, "to see war both on land and sea on a great scale and to learn in the best military school in the world."

At this moment the news of a general peace among the contending European powers, which had been agreed to in the preliminary treaties of January 21, 1783, arrived by frigate from France.

"The most splendid success," he continues in his journal, "and the most improving experience in war could not have afforded Captain Jones a pleasure in any way to be compared to what he felt on learning that Great Britain had after so long a struggle been forced formally to acknowledge the sovereignty, freedom, and independence of the United States of America."

His letters at this time to Morris and the Duc de la Rochefoucauld and the French minister of marine also announced his satisfaction at the successful outcome of the Revolution, and in a private communication to M. Genêt, who had reported the Countess de Lowendahl's reproaches as to his lack of zeal in procuring her husband his desired opportunity of distinction with the combined forces of France and America, he enclosed an epistle for the lady, saying that he hoped to return to France and was persuaded that she would rather feel compassion for his disappointment than withdraw any part of her esteem.

On the 16th of March he wrote Ross of his desire finally to establish his home in America, asking him to inquire about a confiscated estate near Newark which he heard could be purchased on advantageous terms.

“As New York will probably be one of our first naval ports, the proximity of that estate makes me the more anxious to own it. If the peace should, as I wish it may, be concluded, I wish to establish myself in a place I can call my own and offer my hand to some fair daughter of liberty.”

The squadron, sailing from Porto Cabello on the 8th of April, arrived, after eight days, at Cap François, to find there at last and too late the long-expected Spanish fleet, Congress having in the meantime announced the cessation of hostilities on land and sea.

In an exceedingly reduced condition, owing to his illness, and his disappointment at seeing his hopes of further action thus finally disappearing, Jones took the first vessel bound for America and arrived in Philadelphia on the 18th of May. The letters of which he was the bearer to the authorities in Philadelphia bore the most flattering testimony to the high personal regard in which he was held by the French commanders.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil wrote thus to the Chevalier de La Luzerne:

M. Paul Jones, who embarked with me, returns to his beloved country. I was very glad to have him. His well-deserved reputation caused me to accept his company with much pleasure, and I had no doubt that we should meet with some occasions in which his talents might be displayed. But peace, for which I can not but rejoice, interposes an obstacle which renders our separation necessary. Permit me, sir, to pray you to recommend him to his chiefs. The particular acquaintance I have formed with him since he has been on board the *Triomphante*, makes me take a lively interest in his



JOHN PAUL JONES.
From the painting by C. W. Peale.

fortunes, and I shall be much obliged if you can find means of doing him services.

The Baron de Vioménil, commander of the land forces on board the squadron, wrote as follows to the French minister:

M. Paul Jones, who have the honor of delivering you, sir, this letter, has for five months deported himself among us with such wisdom and modesty as to add infinitely to the reputation gained by his courage and exploits. I have reason to believe that he has preserved as much the feeling of gratitude and attachment toward France as of patriotism and devotion to the cause of America. Such being his titles to attention, I take the liberty of recommending to you his interests to the President and Congress.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil wrote directly to Morris in the same terms, expressing his desire for the prosperity of "ce brave et honnête homme."

The illness, a violent intermittent fever which Jones had contracted in the West Indies, continued for a long period after his return to America and was finally cured by a course of cold baths at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, where he spent the summer. This Moravian town was a favorite resting-place for American and French officers during the Revolution, and Jones, in company with several of the latter, had lodgings at the village inn. He attended the services of the Moravian brethren, and on one occasion interposed his personal influence to control some ruffians who were disturbing the peace of their tavern.

During the Revolutionary War and for many years after the Moravian town of Bethlehem, Pa., was visited by prominent American and French officers; it was a favorite place of rest and quiet for them. In the Moravian Church diary, under date of August 17, 1783, the following interesting item about Capt. *David* Paul Jones, U. S. N., is noted: "Captain Jones and several French officers have been spending two months at our village inn. They attended the love feast this afternoon and were attentive listeners. In the evening after the service a very unfortunate occurrence took place at which Capt. Jones was of great assistance to us. It was as follows: Two unknown men followed a traveler and caught up with him just as he was crossing the Lehigh. They forced him to return to the other side of the river. They not only intimated to the landlord that the traveler was a suspicious character, but also soon commenced a quarrel with the landlord to whom he had intrusted his money for safekeeping. They threatened to kill the latter and struck him most *unmercilessly* and took away his letters and papers and would have probably beaten him to death had he not escaped in the darkness, while the landlord had crossed the Lehigh for help.

"A number of Moravian brethren now appeared, headed by Capt. Jones. The former tried by kindness to pacify the two men who were in a violent rage, but all to no purpose. Capt. Jones now took matters into his own hands and commanded them to be quiet or he would 'clear the deck for action.' His words worked like a charm and the men became *tractible*. Capt. Jones, with a guard, held them as prisoners till dawn, when a justice of the peace sent them to Easton jail to await their trial at court."

During the investigation before the justice held by Capt. Jones it turned out that the name of the traveler

who had returned to the tavern was Ebenezer Allen. He was provided for with passports and commissions from Congress and Gen. Lincoln and was on his way from Philadelphia to the Indian country, west of the Alleghanies, and the two prisoners were tavern-keepers from near Philadelphia. Then it appears that Capt. Jones, who was accustomed to have his orders obeyed, accomplished what the good, peace-loving Moravians could not do by kindness.¹

The navy at this time had ceased its official existence, and in this, his proper line, there was no hope of any activity. No prize-money was yet forthcoming and no payment of his accounts had yet been made by Congress. A letter from his friend Brown advised him to cease any thought in regard to the delicate subject of their correspondence, saying that the lady of his preference had given her hand to another.

With no funds at hand he was unable to purchase the estate he had chosen for his home in America and therefore returned to Philadelphia to put himself at the disposition of Congress in whatever capacity his services might be found available.

On September the 3d the final treaties of peace were signed by the representatives of England and America, and Jones, now at the conclusion of his services and career in the American navy, drew up an important paper recapitulating his claims to a higher rank in the navy and embodying his ideas in regard to its future establishment. The full draft of this paper was in pos-

¹Entry in the Moravian church diary, August 17, 1783, printed in the *Army and Navy Journal*, June 25, 1898.

session of Sherburne when he published, in 1825, a portion of Jones's manuscripts which had been sent by Jones's heirs to America. Sherburne improperly assigned the date September 22, 1782, to the excerpt he made from its contents, including a reference to Jones's presence on the Marquis de Vaudreuil's fleet which could not have been written until the following year.

Disraeli, in 1825, in the life of Jones published by Murray, reprinted Sherburne's selection, which appeared again with various criticisms with regard to Jones's adverse conclusions respecting the English navy in the Edinburgh biography of 1830. Sands, however, who had under his eyes the numerous papers brought to America by Miss Taylor, quotes from an autograph copy of the letter abridged from the original draft, which bears the date October 10, 1783, the original of which was addressed and sent to Robert Morris. The complete draft, containing not only the excerpt made by Sherburne and thereafter quoted in the Disraeli and Edinburgh biographies, but the portion embodied in the Sands letter of October the 10th, exists in the collection of Jones's manuscripts in Washington, and is unquestionably the one originally acquired by Sherburne and the same from which he made his selection.¹

It is significant to note that this complete draft, although endorsed in Jones's handwriting with the address of the Honorable Robert Morris, bears neither date nor signature. The conclusion becomes evident from these facts that Jones only included in his letter of October 10, 1783, the narration of his claims in regard

¹The letter of October 10 is quoted in chapter VIII.

to his proper rank in the navy and that he omitted the portion selected by Sherburne and quoted in the Disraeli and Edinburgh biographies. The proof that he had already formulated the conclusions contained in Sherburne's excerpt is found in the following sentence in the letter of October the 10th: "I have many things to offer respecting the formation of our navy, but shall reserve my observations on that head until you have leisure to attend to them and require them of me." The wise and far-seeing suggestion contained in the complete draft, that a fleet of evolution should be formed wherein the officers could be instructed in naval tactics, was obviously unrealizable at this time, when practically nothing remained of the Continental navy, as well as his other suggestion that a suitable person should be sent to Europe in a fine frigate for the purpose of displaying the American flag in foreign ports and to learn of all matters pertaining to the proper organization of the marine.

The most important, as they were the most mature, of Jones's conclusions and suggestions in regard to the formation of the American navy were therefore never sent to Morris and never presented for the consideration of Congress. His early suggestions, contained in his letters to Morris of the years 1776 and 1777, were the only ones which were adopted by the marine committee and in the hands of the government when the navy was reorganized by Washington in 1794. The portion of this unused document, found by Sherburne among Jones's documents, was enthusiastically praised by Disraeli and has represented in the eyes of modern

authorities Jones's chief claim to the possession of the qualities necessary to a great sea officer.¹

After the remarkable series of apparently needless mischances which had circumvented the very appreciative government from supplying Jones with the means of realizing his eminently legitimate ambitions, it is not surprising that he should have expressed his disappointment in a final recapitulation of his complaints to Morris. Although his rank in the navy had been apparently fixed by his appointment to the first ship of the line, that appointment had become so illusory on account of the presentation of the ship to the French Government that Jones evidently felt that the injustice he had suffered in being superseded in his rank was yet to be corrected. He wrote in the letter of October the 10th:

It was my fortune as senior of the first lieutenants to hoist the flag of America the first time it was displayed. Though this was but a slight circumstance, yet I feel for its honor more than I think I should have done if it had not happened. I drew my sword at the beginning, not after having made *sinister conditions*, but purely from principle, in the glorious cause of freedom, which I hope has been amply evinced by my conduct during the Revolution. I hope I shall be pardoned in saying it will not be expected, after having fought and bled for the purpose of contributing to make millions happy and free, that I should remain miserable and dishonored by being superseded without any just cause assigned.

¹ Admiral Mahan, in his articles contributed to *Scribner's Magazine*, July and August, 1898, and James R. Thursfield, in his appreciative essay on Jones contained in his "Nelson and Other Naval Studies."

After drawing Morris's attention to the facts of his original commissions, he writes:

I have met with many other humiliations in the service that I have borne in silence. I will just mention one of them. When the *America* was presented to His Most Christian Majesty, I presume it would not have been inconsistent with that act of my sovereign if it had mentioned my name. Such little attentions to the military pride of officers are always of use to a state and cost nothing. In the present instance it could have been no displeasing circumstance, but the contrary, to a monarch who condescends to honor me with his attention. I appeal to yourself, sir, whether, after being unanimously elected to command the first and only American ship-of-the-line my conduct after more than sixteen months while inspecting her building and launching had merited such cold neglect. When the *America* was taken from me I was deprived of my tenth command. Will posterity believe that out of this number the sloop-of-war *Ranger* was the best I was ever enabled by my country to bring into actual service? If I have been instrumental in giving the American flag some reputation and making it respectable among European nations, will you permit me to say that *it is not because I have been honored by my country* with either proper means or proper encouragement.

If a measure of justice lay in these complaints, the fault was not in the intentions of the American Government, but rather in its poverty, and in the ill-constituted and ill-conducted Continental navy, which, through the incompetency of the original commander-in-chief and the invasion of the privateering interests, soon finished its inglorious history.

No fault lay in Robert Morris, who from the outset of his existence as head of the Marine had consistently and enthusiastically favored all of Jones's plans to serve the country and to win reputation. On the eve of his resignation from office Morris wrote, in September, 1784:

I now take the last opportunity which I shall ever have of expressing my sentiments *officially* upon the zeal, activity, fortitude and intelligence which you have exhibited on so many occasions in the service of the United States. Accept, I pray you, sir, this last feeble testimony which I can give you and which, however unequal to your deserts, is at least expressive of that respect and sincere esteem with which I have the honor to be, etc.

Although the war was ended, there remained still one service which in his opinion Jones was most competent to execute in the interests of his country, and that was the adjustment of the prize-money due to himself and his crews of the *Bon Homme Richard* and the *Alliance*. He applied, on the 13th of October, to Morris, Agent of Marine, and afterward to Congress, on the 18th, to be appointed to go to France as the government agent to conduct the negotiations with the French ministry relative to this purpose.

On the 1st of November, on a report of a committee of which Mr. Arthur Lee was a member, Congress resolved:

That Captain Paul Jones be, and hereby is, recommended to the Minister Plenipotentiary of the United

States at the Court of Versailles as agent to solicit under the direction of said Minister for payment and satisfaction to the officers and crews for all prizes taken under his command and to which they are any wise entitled. And the said Captain John Paul Jones shall receive the commissions usually allowed in such cases out of the money which he shall recover as agent for the said prizes and full compensation for his services and expenses, *provided always* that the said Captain John Paul Jones, previous to his execution of the said trust, shall give to the Superintendent of Finance, for the benefit of all concerned, sufficient bonds with good security for the favorable discharge thereof and for the just payment of the same to the said Superintendent of Finance to be by him distributed to those persons who may be entitled thereto.

Resolved, That the Agent of Marine provide Captain Jones with a passage to France in the ship *Washington*.

John Ross furnished the necessary bonds, and Jones sailed, as directed, on the *Washington* from Philadelphia, on November the 10th, 1783.

The *Washington*, purchased by Congress from the State of Pennsylvania for the purpose of sending Jones to France, had been captured by the enemy and temporarily named the *General Monk*, but brilliantly recaptured by Captain Joshua Barney, in the *Hyder Ally*, in a celebrated engagement on the 8th of April, 1782. Barney has left an account of Jones's demeanor on the passage, with an expression of the admiration he felt for Jones's accomplishments and of his appreciation of his personal character.¹

¹ "Biographical Memoirs of Joshua Barney," edited by Mary Barney, Boston, 1832.

The editor of his memoirs, in her assertion that "Barney was one of the very few American officers who understood his eccentricities," echoed the same sentiment of jealousy which is so strongly present in the letter of Captain Nicholson. These "eccentricities" were never the subject of comment by any of the great leaders of the Revolution who were so warmly and so consistently his friends.

The *Washington* was the only ship retained in the government service, sent especially to Europe to take Paul Jones over. Major L'Enfant was also on board and M. Oste, a French consul. Major L'Enfant was gay and social in his disposition, Captain Jones was reserved, and even in his moments of relaxation he justified what Froissart so quaintly said of the British Islanders, "ils se rejouissent tristement selon le coutume de leur pays." Captain Barney had orders to land Captain Jones at any place in Europe he might designate and then to await at Havre-de-Grâce the further instructions of the American minister. After they had been a day or two at sea, he was very much surprised to hear from Captain Jones that he desired to be landed on the coasts of England, anywhere that he could first make land. He was surprised because he knew the detestation in which the character of Jones was held there, and that Jones himself was aware that his American commission would avail him nothing if he fell into the power of the British Government. He could not help, therefore, expressing his great astonishment that his passenger should choose to incur such a risk, particularly as he understood him to be anxious to

reach Paris. As to that Captain Jones replied, "I shall probably be in Paris before you, but it is infinitely of more importance for me to see a certain person in England, and I am too well acquainted with every foot of it and know too well how to steer my course, to be apprehensive of any personal danger. Put me ashore wherever you can make the coast. I shall leave my baggage with you and it will not be the first time if I have to traverse all England, with the blood hounds on my track." Barney was one of the very few American officers who knew how to appreciate the eccentricities of Jones. He had known him from the first years of his entering the navy. They had been together in the little expedition against the Bahamas in 1775, and, though he had for several years lost sight of him in their distant service, he had not failed to hear of and admire his numerous gallant achievements. He respected him for his general intelligence and his profound knowledge of his profession, and he loved him for that chivalry in his character which so nearly resembled his own. This was the first time the two officers had been so long together, and they formed a sincere attachment for each other. For many an hour at night, while the two Frenchmen were below amusing themselves at piquet or trictrac, these brothers in chivalry would walk the quarter-deck, or seat themselves on the hen-coops, and talk over by-gone events. It was easy to perceive that the elder was an unhappy man, and it required little knowledge of the human heart to discover that the cause, whatever it might be, was beyond the reach of friendly sympathy. Captain Barney knew it would be

unavailing to attempt to persuade the chevalier from his purpose of landing on the coast of England and therefore steered for that part of it where he would be least likely to meet with interruption. Whatever private reason Jones had for wishing to transact some business in England, he evidently abandoned it in his haste to deliver the public despatches of which he was the bearer, for in his journal for Louis XVI he states "that the *Washington* was forced through contrary winds to enter the harbor at Plymouth, and that as he was charged with public despatches of importance he took a post-chaise direct for London and travelled so rapidly that he was in Paris five days after he landed at Plymouth."

John Adams, whom Jones found in London, informed him that the despatches he was carrying probably concerned a new commercial treaty with France and he was therefore constrained to make his way to Paris with all possible haste.

The mood of depression in which he left America was no more than natural when, deprived of his last hope to action, he had turned his face from the country in whose service he had hoped to realize his ultimate ambitions and capacities. In spite of his honors, his accomplishments, compared with his possibilities, were, in fact, insignificant. Two single-ship battles conducted with unexampled courage announced his potential capacity. He had, as he truly stated, been ten times deprived of his ships on the morrow of victory. Many of the prisoners he had fought to deliver were still in captivity. His rank in the navy, established by a tem-

porary exaltation to the command of a vanishing ship of the line, was still uncorrected. No home was permitted him, owing to unpaid accounts and unsettled prize-money, and all that he took with him at the close of the war were the empty praises of Congress. His accounts for pay and money lent the Government, although acknowledged to be correct, were never settled.

CHAPTER XXII

PRIZE-MONEY NEGOTIATION

ALTHOUGH the United States of America, before the close of the war for independence, had adopted in the Articles of Confederation a form of association under which they had announced their existence as a united nation, the further consolidation of the government was yet to demand the utmost efforts of its leading statesmen. The maintenance of the independence of the nation called also imperatively for the establishment of a sound and centralized fiscal policy, as well as for adequate forces of defence. The armies of Washington, reinforced by the regiments of Rochambeau and the fleet of De Grasse, having attained the ultimate success of the American cause, had finally been paid and disbanded, and the navy of the Revolution had totally disappeared. Although Washington, the author and director of the first colonial fleet for national defence, was likewise the founder of the reorganized navy of the United States, which began its existence in the year 1794, Alexander Hamilton, the originator of the national fiscal system, the strong abettor of the Federal Constitution, was also convinced of the necessity of establishing a permanent marine and was occupied as early as the year 1783 with the preliminaries of its proper organization. The agent designated to carry out Hamilton's designs and to pro-

cure the necessary information in Europe for this all-important measure was Paul Jones. On the 20th of January, 1783, Colonel Wadsworth communicated the following memorandum to Jones:

Colonel Hamilton requests Colonel Wadsworth as often as convenient to make inquiries and to take minutes of the circumstances relating to the navigation of different nations, the construction and quality of their ships, with respect to bulk, duration and expedition; the expense of construction, materials and equipment, and number of men with which they are navigated, the wages to the seamen, subsistence, etc., so as to form a general idea of the comparative advantages between this and other countries.

“I have sent this to you,” Colonel Wadsworth wrote to Jones in his accompanying letter, “as the best able to make inquiries, and pray you to write him on the several articles of this request, as I know nobody in America so likely to make good use of them. I do not despair of seeing an American Navy, and my hopes will increase when I see such men as Hamilton at the head of our naval affairs in America, which may possibly not be far distant. I will not apologize for giving you this trouble. You have so eminently distinguished yourself as a naval officer and so warmly and unremittingly pursued the true interests of America, that I am certain I can commit these inquiries to no one so able and so willing to make them.”

This commission to investigate European marine establishments, although unofficial, proceeded from an authority so eminent and in such close proximity to

Washington himself as to invest Jones actually with the powers and place upon him the exact duties and responsibilities which he had suggested in the plan for the establishment of a navy system prepared for Robert Morris. His official orders embodied in the congressional resolution of November 1, 1783, embracing the claims arising from all the captures made by his squadron in Europe, concerned not only the money due from the French court, but the far more important claims upon the court of Denmark for the very valuable prizes improperly given up to the English.

The disappointing result of Jones's efforts to obtain a naval force from the French cabinet while the war was still in progress, in spite of the favorable attitude of the courteous but ineffectual prime minister Maurepas, had led him with characteristic foresight to procure strong personal letters of introduction from the French minister to America to the new French minister of marine and to the Count de Vergennes, who was still the most powerful member of the French cabinet and with whom he had enjoyed no acquaintance except through correspondence. The experience of the Spanish minister, the Conde de Aranda, who said, "I converse with M. Maurepas, I negotiate with the Count de Vergennes," was typical of that of all the diplomatic agents at the French court and was a fact entirely understood by Paul Jones.

Thus prepared with the strongest credentials, both private and public, providing him with the powers of an envoy extraordinary to both the French and Danish courts, he arrived in Paris on the 6th of December, 1783.

He was warmly welcomed by Franklin and dined with him a few days after his arrival at the embassy at Passy, according to his ancient custom. On presenting his letters to the Maréchal de Castries and to Vergennes he was again most cordially received, both assuring him that "he needed no recommendation to dispose them to esteem him personally, or to render him justice in any of his requests."

On the 17th of December Franklin gave him his official authority as agent for the recovery of the prize-money, according to the resolution of Congress. Three days later the Maréchal de Castries presented him to the King, and after dinner took him apart and assured him, on the part of his sovereign, that "his Majesty had had great pleasure in seeing him again and would always be glad to further his interests." With these favorable assurances Jones now embarked on a negotiation which was destined to be very protracted and vexatious and to call out the utmost efforts of his patience and determination. Mr. Barclay, the American Consul-General at Paris, to whom the affair had been hitherto intrusted, had exhausted all his efforts to obtain a settlement of the claims, and after more than two years had practically abandoned the matter. Letters¹ from M. Chardon, Maître des Requêtes at Versailles, to the Count de Vergennes, assured the minister that the conflicting American and French claims concerned in "the hydra-headed affair" had hopelessly delayed its settlement. M. de Chaumont, who had advanced the money for the purchase and equipment of Jones's squadron to the

¹ Archives of the Affaires Etrangères.

French court, had retained the larger part of the prize-money, considering himself justified by the fact that he had not yet been fully repaid. The French Government, although enjoying the interval of false security which the Count de Calonne's method of wholesale borrowing had procured, was as insolvent as M. de Chaumont, and was only too willing to catch at any subterfuge to avoid any but the most imperative demands for disbursement, and it was only by Jones's characteristic firmness and persistency that a serious consideration of the comparatively unimportant claims of the now independent American colonists was forced upon the cabinet.

After waiting a proper interval, Jones, on the 1st of February, addressed the first of a long series of letters to the Maréchal de Castries, asking him to fulfil his verbal promise of an immediate settlement of the claim. He was furnished, after a fortnight's delay, with the requisitions of M. de Chaumont, which deducted so large an amount from the shares of the American captors for the Hôpital des Invalides at Paris, as well as for repairs made to the prizes and for the maintenance of the prisoners at the Texel, that only a small proportion was left of what was actually their due. In reply to this communication Jones wrote, on the 18th of February, a long and very vigorously worded account of his own connection with the French court from the time of his arrival in Europe, including a relation of his various services, with a statement of the difficulties which M. de Chaumont had thrown in his way, and asserting that he had remained in Europe to take command of the squadron at the expressed request of the French court.

“Whether M. de Chaumont is indebted to the French Government or the government is indebted to him,” he observed, “is a matter that does not concern the captors, and they have a right to claim the protection of government to force M. de Chaumont to render the money with interest which he has unjustly detained for four years and a half, while many of them are perishing with cold and hunger—I am also persuaded that you will not think it just that anything should be deducted from the shares of the Americans on account of the Hôpital des Invalides at Paris, as they received no benefit from that hospital.”

M. de Chaumont's further claim that Jones had served under his command was indignantly denied by Jones with the remark that M. de Chaumont was only a commissary, and that he might as well have said it of the Marquis de Lafayette. The Maréchal de Castries then took the decisive step of taking all the papers out of M. de Chaumont's hands and he was thenceforth eliminated from all consideration in the matter. The Maréchal de Castries very promptly relinquished the claim for the Hôpital des Invalides, and later, under the influence of Lafayette and Franklin, also abandoned those relating to the expenses of repairing the prizes. As to the claim for the maintenance of the prisoners in Holland, Franklin wrote that “if he had himself been acting in the matter he certainly would not have agreed to charge the American captors with any part of the expense of maintaining the five hundred prisoners in Holland till they could be exchanged, when none of them were exchanged for Americans in England, as was

your intention and as we had both been made to expect."

Enclosing this letter to the minister, Jones wrote: "I will not now complain that the prisoners which I took and carried into Holland were not exchanged for Americans. It was all the reward I asked for the anxious days and sleepless nights I passed and the many dangers I encountered in the glad hope of giving them *all* their liberty."

On the 13th of May the Maréchal de Castries informed Jones that the King had ordered this item of deduction also to be relinquished, and that he had generously given up his share of the prizes taken by the merchant-ships. The minister promised that M. Char-don would immediately finish the liquidation of the claims, after which the money should be paid.

Jones's hope of a prompt settlement of his claims was doomed to repeated disappointment. Not until the 23d of October was the statement of the liquidation and repartition of the prizes signed by the minister, and in June of the following year he was again forced to remind him that the money had not yet been paid. With nothing but debts in the depleted treasury of France, the Maréchal de Castries now made all sorts of delays, demanded that security should be furnished for the proper application of the funds, and when informed by Jones, with a confirmatory letter from Jefferson, that he had already furnished that security in America, referred him for payment to the Ordonnateur at L'Orient. Jones proceeded to that port in July, according to directions, but Castries again delayed in authorizing the payment

at L'Orient, demanding fresh credentials from Jefferson, who had succeeded Franklin as American minister at Paris. Jones's credentials being again promptly confirmed by Jefferson, a fresh cause of trouble was discovered at L'Orient in the pretensions of one Puchilberg, who had been appointed prize-agent by the mutinous officers of the *Alliance*. Again with full data from Jones in regard to Puchilberg's insufficient powers, Jefferson convinced the Maréchal de Castries that Jones alone was the properly accredited agent for the recovery of the prize-money, and at last, having been assured by Jefferson that he himself would see that the funds were properly applied, the minister gave orders that the money should be paid over into Jones's hands at L'Orient, which was accordingly done on the 5th of September, 1785.

In October Jones returned to Paris with the intention of sailing at once to America to place the money in the custody of Congress for immediate distribution. At this juncture he was compelled to wait the return of the Danish minister to Paris, who was absent on a *congé*, in order to be properly informed with regard to the situation of the Denmark claims and the disposition of the Danish court in regard to their settlement, and in consequence of his expectation of sailing to America he recommended that Doctor Bancroft should be intrusted with the negotiations.

A letter from the board of treasury of Congress to Jefferson throws a very interesting light upon his willingness to assist Jones in his efforts to recover the prize-money from the French court:

PHILADELPHIA, *May* 9, 1786.

Sir:

We are honored with your letter of the 26th of January last and are extremely sorry that it is not in our power to transmit to you more agreeable intelligence concerning the State of the Finances of this country, than you have probably been used to receive from your correspondents in America. . . . The fact is, that we have scarcely the means to defray the ordinary expenses of the Civil Government and to remit sufficient sums to Pay the Salaries and contingent expenses for the Foreign Ministers, so much so that if it were not for the Intelligence you have given us of the moneys paid to Capt. John Paul Jones on account of the prizes taken by the squadrons under his Command, it would not be possible for us to make provision for this object for the present year. We agree with you that it will be attended with a Saving and Accommodation to the Public to permit these moneys to be used for the Expense of the Foreign Ministers in Europe, and to appropriate an equal sum for this object to be paid to the proper claimants in America, for which object we shall be careful to make the proper provision. We have therefore transmitted you an order on Captain Paul Jones for the whole amount of the moneys received by him, agreeable to the two receipts remitted by you to the Minister of
livres S. D.

Foreign Affairs, amounting to 181.039 . 1 . 10. You observe in your letter that Capt. Jones was to remit these moneys to the Board, after deducting his own proportion, but as the covenant entered into by him with the late Superintendent of Finance does not mention any appropriation to be made to Capt. Jones, and as it is not possible for us to ascertain what his share of right ought to be, we have thought it most advisable to draw the order for the whole of these monies and to

leave the negotiation of this matter to your arrangement. You have proposed lodging these monies with Mr Grand: but as it is destined for the express and sole object of paying the salaries of yourself and the other ministers in Europe, we think it most advisable to leave it to yourself to place this fund where you judge best; and have to request that you will take the proper measures for supplying Mr Carmichael (and in case of application the Honble Mr Adams) with such Sums on account of their respective salaries as the funds you receive will admit of.

SAMUEL OSGOOD
WALTER LIVINGSTON.

On the very day on which the above letter was written to Jefferson, Jones, in evident ignorance of the American minister's plan to retain the funds of the captors in Europe for his own benefit and those of his colleagues at London and Madrid, wrote Mr. Jay, then minister of foreign affairs in America, that "the gross amount of 157.483 *livres*, 6 *s.*, 10 *d.*, due to the citizens and subjects of the United States was then ready in his hands." This sum represented the total amount of the award, less Jones's own share of the prize-money, together with certain advances which he had made to the officers of the squadron. "I say nothing," he wrote, "of the amount of the allowance that ought to be made for the great expense, trouble and time I have devoted to this business from the 1st of November, 1783. A commission on the sum recovered will certainly be no indemnification for my time and trouble."

Having been informed by Jefferson of the board of treasury's authorization that the moneys should be de-

livered to him, he presented his accounts to that gentleman, who had written him that the board of treasury's letter contained a paragraph which "looks as if they meant that I should settle with you your proportion of these moneys. I will therefore beg the favor of you to say what you would think a reasonable allowance for your trouble in this business, which I will represent to the commissioners, and that you will consider the order I have received as operating on the balance only, which I shall direct M. Grand to receive."

On the receipt of Jones's statement of the gross amount of the award, Jefferson wrote, on the 5th of July, that he was "thoroughly satisfied that no person could have so well settled those matters as himself, and that his particular knowledge of all the circumstances relative to them gave him advantages which no other person possessed." And he stated that on a re-examination of the letter of the board of treasury he had concluded that his authority definitely to confirm the amount which Jones should rightly deduct for his expenses was not as complete as he had first thought. He directed Jones to retain the amount which he thought was rightly his due, and that the balance, as soon as settled, should be applied in accordance with the intention of the treasury.

On the 7th of July, the papers finally drawn up, with a deduction of 47,972 *livres*, 11 s., 0 d., for Jones's ordinary expenses during the three years of his services, was presented to Jefferson, who approved the deduction, but again observed that it could only be definitely allowed by the board of treasury. In the letter which accom-

panied Jones's final accounts, he wrote Jefferson that he "could not bring himself to lessen the dividend of the American captors by making any charge either for his time or trouble." "I flatter myself," he observed in conclusion, "that you will find no objection to the account as I have stated it."

In approving the deduction Jefferson wrote, on the 11th, that "Nobody could wish more that justice may be done you, nor is more ready to be instrumental in doing what may insure it." He concluded his letter by saying that he would that evening deposit the balance at the bankers, and would be ready to confer with him when he pleased about the affair of Denmark. The French negotiations were thus amicably disposed of to Jefferson's satisfaction, with a loop-hole carefully provided by which he could avoid all responsibility in allowing Jones's deduction in case of difficulty with the board of treasury. The net result of Jefferson's diplomacy was that he had a free balance to draw on at his bank, while Jones was unable to touch his allowance without a journey across the Atlantic. The lack of ingenuousness toward Jones, in planning to detain the prize-money in Europe without his knowledge, is an example of that devious character in Thomas Jefferson which has not escaped the notice of historians.

The prophet of pure democracy had ample reason for desiring to employ the prize-money belonging to Jones's crew for his own benefit, for he had abandoned his modest apartment in Paris and established the American embassy in a beautiful hotel, for the maintenance

of which he had already drawn largely upon his private fortune. The proposition to retain the money, for economy in exchange, would have been entirely legitimate in the case of an official of a solvent government, but under the existing circumstances of the American treasury, fully recognized by its governing board and as fully explained in its letter to Jefferson, it was subject to the gravest criticism. If Jefferson and the other foreign ministers were to receive the captors' prize-money, which represented the only available funds at the disposition of the board, it was only too clear that the captors would have to wait indefinitely for the satisfaction of their claims. As to Jones's action in asking for an indemnification of his ordinary expenses during the negotiations, in lieu of the five-per-cent commission which had been decreed in his original instructions from Congress, it was certainly amply justified by the suggestions contained in the letter of the board of treasury, which expressly abrogated these instructions in directing Jefferson to make a new arrangement with Jones. As the governing body of the treasury, succeeding Morris, this committee was presumably empowered to issue these new directions.

The relation which existed between Jones and Jefferson was very confidential, but possessed none of the advantages to the former of the long and affectionate friendship which he had enjoyed with the great and venerable Franklin. As to the question of the reservation of the prize-money in Europe to pay the salaries of the foreign ministers, Franklin was never consulted and gave no advice, but he approved before his departure

for America the justice of Jones's estimate of his necessary expenses.

During the months which intervened between the signing of the order for the prize awards by the Maréchal de Castries and its ultimate disposition at the bank in Paris, Jones was occupied in various schemes of public and private commercial enterprise. He proposed to the French cabinet investments in timber for ship-construction and in American tobacco, which were found impracticable on account of the impecunious condition of the government. He very nearly carried out an extensive plan, in concert with the celebrated explorer and traveller Ledyard, to establish a dépôt for furs on the northwestern coast of America, and to purchase and equip vessels which should collect skins in the Sandwich Islands, in China and Japan for the French market. The subsequent execution of this scheme, which was elaborated with an imagination and constructive genius worthy of its originators, laid the foundation of one of the greatest of the American fortunes. It was abandoned on account of a warning that the Spanish Government would resent any commercial enterprises which would encroach upon their rights in California.

Jones collected, at Jefferson's request, information in regard to the projected and ill-fated expedition of La Perouse, which had been carefully drawn up in all its details by Louis XVI for the purpose of establishing French colonies in New Holland and on the northwestern coast of America.

These were the occupations of the winter of 1786, at

the beginning of which he presented his carefully prepared journal of his services for America and France to Louis XVI. In the letter which he addressed to the King himself, in presenting the journal, he wrote:

“History has given the world no example of such generosity as that of your Majesty towards the young Republic of America.” He concluded, after expressing his eternal gratitude that the squadron armed by his Majesty under the American flag should have been placed under his command, with a vow that “the Protector of the Rights of Human Nature” would always find him ready to draw the sword which his Majesty had bestowed upon him, and to expose his life in his service. Under the signature to this letter are found the following verses:¹

Protector of fair Freedom's rights,
 Louis, thy virtues suit a god.
 The good man in thy power delights
 And tyrants tremble at thy nod.

Thy people's father, loved so well,
 May time respect when thou art gone.
 May each new year of history tell.
 Thy sons with luster fill thy throne.

A multitude of letters and cards and invitations belonging to this period shows that Jones's position at this time was one of unquestionable importance. His intimate relations with the Marquis de Lafayette were resumed at this time, and it had been his intention to

¹ Jones's secretary André, who published this journal in 1798, states that the morocco-bound copy sent to Louis XVI was among the documents found in the Armoire de Fer.

proceed to America in the company of the marquis. Count d'Estaing warmly reciprocated Jones's attachment, and furnished him, in a letter recommending Lieutenant Stack for membership in the Order of the Cincinnati, a glowing eulogium of the engagement with the *Serapis*, saying that "this officer had contributed to the success of the most brilliant naval combat not only of the last war, but of any which the history of nations has ever recorded."¹

M. Malesherbes, to whom Jones also presented a copy of the journal for perusal, in expressing his gratitude for the opportunity of reading this "interesting relation," recommended that "deeds as memorable as his should be published in an authentic journal under his own name."

In August of this year, 1786, Jones prepared to proceed to Denmark to apply for the indemnification for the American prizes, but was prevented by illness. Various efforts had been made, without success, by both Franklin and Adams, to force the Danish court to make a settlement. Immediately after the news of the gross violation by Denmark of the hospitality due to neutrals and of the laws of nations had reached Doctor Franklin, he had addressed Count Bernsdorff, the Danish prime minister, protesting against his unjust decision and demanding the payment of their full value. The minister replied evasively, although with many compliments, and referred Franklin to the Danish min-

¹ Jones was himself admitted among the earliest members of this association, on the 31st day of October, in the year 1785. A copy of the certificate, signed by G. Washington, is in the possession of Mr. James Barnes, New York City.

ister at Paris, the Baron de Blome. The correspondence between Count Bernsdorff and Franklin is quoted in full by Disraeli, who observes that "the Baron de Blome had of course nothing satisfactory to offer. The observation of Franklin upon this head is worthy his profound and venerable wisdom. He looked into the future, and conjuring up America in all the plenitude of statistical prosperity he met the Danish minister on equal grounds and threatened not only retributive vengeance but national hatred."

No move to right the injustice done to America had been made by the Danish court until the recognition of American independence by the mother country. The other European powers having early declared themselves on the side of the new republic, Denmark now thought fit to follow their example, and instructed its minister at London, the Baron de Waltersdorf, who was about to visit Paris, to endeavor to gain the intimacy and confidence of Doctor Franklin, with a view to making a treaty of commercial alliance between Denmark and the United States. This letter of instruction to the Baron de Waltersdorf was exhibited to Franklin, who, in consequence, addressed the Count de Bernsdorff, intimating that the readiest way to prepare the United States for so desirable a bond of friendship would be for Denmark to redress the injustice done to the United States by the abandonment of the American prizes to England. After considerable delay the court of Denmark decided to recognize the injustice of its acts and the validity of the claim by offering to pay ten thousand pounds for its adjustment. Doctor Franklin

declined the proposition on the ground that the value of the prizes should form the true measure of compensation and that this should first be inquired into. Some further negotiations toward the settlement of the claim took place between the Baron de Waltersdorf and John Adams, then United States minister in London, but with no better result.

When Jones turned his attention toward the matter, and inquired of Adams as to the result of his negotiations with Waltersdorf, Adams replied, on the 17th of July, 1786, that "Waltersdorf had sailed for the West Indies, and as there is a Danish minister now in Paris, I should advise you to apply to him. Cash is, I fancy, not an abundant article in Denmark, and your claim has probably delayed and suspended all negotiations with Mr. Jefferson and me respecting a commercial treaty, for which three years ago there was no little zeal."

Having waited in vain through the winter of 1786-87 for the return of the Danish minister, the Baron de Blome, Jones, finally restored to health, left Paris for Copenhagen, furnished with his usual assortment of letters of recommendation to the Danish court, including one from Vergennes, with a special commission from Jefferson and some MS. notes by that gentleman on the laws of nations, and plentiful quotations from Grotius and Vattel. Unable to touch any portion of the amount he proposed to take from the prize-money award, he was very short of funds, and went by way of Brussels, where he expected to receive a supply from the sale of some bank-stock in America to defray the expenses of

his journey to Denmark. No funds were awaiting him and he was forced to take ship immediately for America to procure the necessary authorization of his claim from the board of treasury.

Jones arrived in New York in the beginning of July and on the 18th addressed a letter to Mr. Jay, in which he stated that "the application he had made for a compensation for our prizes through the Danish minister in London not having succeeded, it had been determined between Mr. Jefferson and himself, that the proper method to obtain satisfaction was for him to go to Copenhagen in person." He stated that an unforeseen circumstance in his private affairs had rendered it indispensable for him to turn about and cross the ocean, but that as his private business had already been concluded, he expected soon to re-embark for Denmark, intending to go by way of Paris.

The letter, which was intended as an official communication to Congress, contained a significant repetition of a communication,¹ the first on the subject, which he had already made to both Jefferson and Jay two years earlier, in regard to the condition of the American prisoners in Algiers. Jones's concern in regard to the fate of his fellow-citizens wherever confined—in Canada, England, or Africa—was genuine and consistent from the beginning to the end of his public career.

¹ Letter sent to the consular authorities in the French ports:

"TOULON, July 14, 1785.

"M. de Legorde, who has arrived here from Algiers in the frigate *Minerva*, which he commands, has on entering this road given me information that the Regency had armed eight vessels, xebecs and barks with from 18 to 34 guns each, to capture Americans, against whom they have declared war."

This letter was duly communicated to Congress, who directed Mr. Jay to prepare a report upon it. "As Congress," Jones wrote again to Jay, "have now referred back to you for your report the chief part of the letter which I had the honor to address to you on the 18th of July last, I beg leave to observe on the latter part of that letter, respecting the fund which I wish to see established for the redemption of our fellow citizens at Algiers, that I had also in view at the time a national establishment, on the plan of the General Hospital in Greenwich or the Hôpital des Invalides in Paris, which would be effected by the residue of the increasing fund I have proposed. I beg you therefore, Sir, to take notice of this in your report."

Jones was unable to re-embark for Europe as soon as he had intended, for the board of treasury, which had succeeded Robert Morris in the management of the public funds, now contained, most unfortunately for Jones, Arthur Lee himself. The report of the board as signed by this gentleman, who took this, his last, opportunity of bringing discredit upon his ancient enemy, not only took exception to Jones's deduction of his expenses, but demanded an extra deposit of securities to insure the proper application of the expected award from the court of Denmark. The report was submitted to a committee, whose chairman was Mr. Carrington, of Virginia. This gentleman followed the example and general sentiment of the Southern delegates to Congress in a marked admiration of Jones, and most ably defended the justice of his claim. The fact that Congress had paid as yet not one farthing of Jones's ac-

cepted accounts for pay and advances to the crews of the *Providence* and *Alfred* undoubtedly influenced the gentlemen of the committee in their decision that he should not be still further out of pocket for his services to America. Moreover, the congressional resolution empowering Jones as agent for the collection of the French claims not only provided that he should have a commission on the sums recovered, but that he should be reimbursed for his expenses. Arthur Lee's brother, Richard Henry Lee, who was a member of the committee, recommended that Jones should receive the amount of his claim.

The inimical efforts of Arthur Lee not only found no supporters in Congress, but, as in the case of Samuel Adams, hostile efforts to cause discredit to fall on Jones were followed by additional honors. Congress not only approved his accounts on October 11, allowing the full amount of his claim, but on the 16th resolved unanimously "that a gold medal be struck and presented to the Chevalier John Paul Jones in commemoration of the valor and brilliant services of that officer in command of the American and French ships under the flag and commission of the United States off the coast of Great Britain in the late war, and that the honorable Mr. Jefferson, Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States at the court of Versailles, have the same executed with the proper devices."¹

¹In the conclusion of his journal to Louis XVI, Jones remarks, in regard to this honor, that "in America the most flattering testimony which is ever given to an officer is to order a gold medal in his name. These marks of public esteem are very rare and have only been accorded to six officers: to General Washington, Commander-in-Chief, for the

In pursuance of Jones's continued desire to execute Hamilton's commission to investigate European marine establishments, Mr. Jay also drew up the following letter to Louis XVI:

TO HIS MOST CHRISTIAN MAJESTY

LOUIS KING OF FRANCE AND NAVARRE.

Great and Beloved Friend:

We, the United States in Congress Assembled, in consideration of the distinguished marks of approbation with which your Majesty has been pleased to honor the Chevalier Paul Jones, as well as from a sense of his merit, have unanimously directed a medal of gold to be struck and presented to him, in commemoration of his valor and brilliant services while commanding a squadron of French and American ships off the coast of Great Britain in the late war.

As it is his earnest desire to acquire knowledge in his profession, we cannot forbear requesting your Majesty to permit him to embark in your fleets of evolution where only it will be probably in his power to acquire that degree of knowledge which may hereafter render him extensively useful.

Permit us to repeat to your Majesty our sincere assurances that the various and important benefits for which we are indebted for your friendship will never cease to interest us in whatever may concern the happiness of your majesty, your family and people. We

siege of Boston; General Gates, for the capture of General Burgoyne's army; General Wayne, for the capture of Stony Point, whose garrison was stronger than its assailant's; General Morgan, for having destroyed 1100 of the best English troupes with 900 militia; to General Greene, for his decisive victory at Eutaw Springs. But all these medals, although well merited, were accorded at moments of enthusiasm. I had the unique satisfaction of receiving the same honor by unanimous vote of Congress, on October 16, 1787, in memory of services which I had performed eight years before."

pray God to keep you, our great and beloved friend, under his holy protection.

Done at the city of New York, the 16th October, in the year of our Lord 1787, and of our sovereignty and independence the 12th.

On the 25th of October Congress also confirmed its former orders for Jones to act as agent for the recovery of the value of the prizes given up by the Danish court, but directed that he should conduct these negotiations under the supervision of Jefferson, and with a five-per-cent commission on the amount awarded. The sum in question was so large that this commission would have been ample compensation for his services as agent.

On the 7th of November, in this same year, Arthur Lee signed a report following out Jones's suggestions for the ransom of the American prisoners in Algiers and recommending an appropriation for that purpose. The passing of recommendations and laudatory resolutions was the only recourse of the impecunious government. Jones's "presumption" that the country at large would "approve the settlement" of the award to the officers and men of his squadron, "*as far as it depended on him,*" represents his sole comment upon its application to other purposes. Although the board of treasury had promised that they would be "careful to reserve an equal sum" for the proper claimants, they failed utterly to carry out that engagement, and the men who had fought with Jones, and for whose rights he had importuned the French cabinet, M. de Chaumont, and every agent concerned, and for whom he had crossed and recrossed the ocean and spent three years of his life, were

totally forgotten. The portion over and above his salary, and that of the other American envoys, which was still unsettled in the year 1787, remained in Jefferson's hands. Not until half a century later, in the years 1837, 1838, and 1842, did the government of the United States make restitution of the prize-money thus diverted from the proper claimants, and distribute to a handful of survivors their due proportions. Well might Hamilton, in sublime disgust with a government which was not empowered to collect taxes or revenue from imports, declare that "there was scarcely anything that could wound the pride or disgrace the character of an independent nation which we do not experience."¹

In this very summer of 1787, while Jones was awaiting the allowance of his claim from the board of treasury, the members of Congress, assembled in Philadelphia at Hamilton's call, were fighting out behind closed doors the great battle of the Federal Constitution. Almost destitute of money, Jones was unable to stir from New York, where he lodged in the humble home of a friend of his family, Mr. Robert Hyslop.

¹In the year 1837, shortly before his death, Jefferson sent to John Henry Sherburne, for his use in a second edition of his "Life of Paul Jones," a collection of letters relating to Jones. Sherburne was astonished to discover, by an examination of these papers, what Jefferson and the Board of Treasury had done with the prize-money. Investigation of congressional records revealed the fact that the original sum recovered by Jones was still due to the officers and men, and it was then at different times distributed to the survivors. In the year 1846, as a result of the prolonged efforts of Miss Taylor and the descendants of Mrs. Lowdon, a bill was passed awarding \$50,000 of the \$200,000 finally promised by Denmark as indemnification of the prize given up to England, and two years later another resolution was passed ordering the distribution of the remainder to the officers and men of the *Bon Homme Richard* and the *Alliance*, but neither of these resolutions was carried out until 1861.

He was, however, in constant communication with Washington and Jay, who ably advocated his desire to be authorized by Congress to procure information for the proposed re-establishment of the navy and his recommendations for the relief of the American prisoners in Algiers.¹

Jones was duly grateful to Mr. Carrington for his efforts in his behalf, and wrote him a letter in which he elucidated his own opinion of the extent of his powers as agent and envoy to the two courts, and of the scale of expense which he believed to be incumbent upon him to properly execute his mission:

The settlement I made with the court of France had first Dr. Franklin's and afterwards Mr. Jefferson's approbation, in every stage and article of the business, and I presume it will be found, at least as far as depended on me, to merit that of the United States. The Board of Treasury have been pleased in their report to treat me as a mere agent, although employed in that delicate national concern. In France I was received by the King and his ministers as a general officer and a

¹An incident of this his last visit to America concerns a curious encounter with Captain Landais. During his stay in New York, while conversing with a friend in Water Street, the friend perceived that Landais was approaching. Jones's back was turned, and when Mr. Milligan, his friend, informed him of the proximity of his old enemy he continued his conversation undisturbed and without altering his position. When within a few yards of Jones, Landais spat on the pavement, saying: "I spit in his face." Mr. Milligan asked Jones if he had heard what Landais had said and was informed that he had not. Landais circulated the report that he had been able to insult Jones without receiving any reply. Jones therefore prepared a printed statement, signed by Mr. Milligan, which he caused to be posted in a public place, and wherein he stated that "his respect for the public had induced him to establish the falsity of Landais's report by the testimony of the only witness present, and he also stated that he should take no notice of any further statements of Landais."

special minister from Congress. The credit with which I am honored as an officer in the opinion of Europe, and the personal intimacy I have with many great characters at Paris, with my exclusive knowledge of all the circumstances relative to the business, insured me a success which no other man could have obtained. My situation subjected me to considerable expense. I went to court much oftener, and mixed with the great much more frequently than our minister plenipotentiary, yet the gentlemen in that situation consider their salary of two thousand pounds sterling as scarcely adequate to their expenses.

Speaking of Landais he says: "The Board seems very anxious for the interests of that broken and disgraced officer. I say nothing in opposition to his interests, but I am possessed of ample testimony that if he had been tried on my accusation, instead of being broken and disgraced for bringing the *Alliance* from France, after his being suspended by Dr. Franklin, the judgment of the Court Martial would have been of a more grave and serious nature, a glaring proof, among many others, that we had no system for the government of our navy, and that we should not at this date be so tenacious of its vacated ordinances, especially in a delicate case between two nations where they cannot in all respects be applied to the letter." It is no injustice to the reputation of Mr. Arthur Lee to assume that his tardy interest in Landais's welfare was inspired by a desire to annoy Jones.

The representations which Jones made in regard to the expenses of living in Paris are supported by the account left by Mrs. Adams of the difficulties that re-

markably economical lady experienced in making the salary of the American minister suffice for their needs. She complained that a heavy tax was imposed upon everything and that all articles of domestic use were about thirty per cent higher than in Boston, and stated that the humble style in which they lived often caused them great mortification. Jones had, in fact, spent some sixty thousand livres, or about twelve thousand dollars of his own money during his three years' residence in Paris, and the rate of three thousand dollars a year which he claimed for his expenses might fairly be considered a proper allowance.

On the 9th of September, while awaiting the decision of Congress, he addressed Washington in the following characteristic epistle:

(John Paul Jones to George Washington. W. MSS.)

NEW YORK, *Sept.* 9th, 1787.

SIR,

It gives me pain to inform you, that the same cause that prevented me from returning to France in the July Packet, precludes me from embarking in the one that is to sail tomorrow. I have been every day expecting my Business here to be concluded; and if Congress had met any day since the beginning of last Month, my matters would have been immediately determined.—As Mr. Jay does not think it expedient to commit his Dispatches, either to the Mail or to any of the Passengers, I have not thought myself authorized to forward the Packets you did me the honor to entrust to my care. But I have written to the Marquis de la Fayette, mentioning your Packets, and that, in my opinion, the one for the Marquis de Bouillé may, perhaps, contain his Diploma of the Cincinnati.

Your determination to '*place my Bust with your own*' confers on me a greater Honor than I ever before received—An Honor which I shall ever be ambitious to merit—But, what Man can hope to vie with the Talents, the virtuous perseverance and exertions of a General Washington!—I shall leave you, Sir, to imagine my extreme sensibility on this occasion, for, I feel, it would be impossible for me to communicate it in words.

May you long enjoy perfect Health, and perfect Happiness—and may you have the satisfaction to see the new Constitution, over which you preside, become the means of our National Honor, Dignity, and Felicity!—I am, with profound Respect, Sir,

Your most obliged and most humble Servant

J. PAUL JONES

His Excellency General Washington, Esquire, Philadelphia.

On the 9th of November he wrote again, saying that as reports had arrived that a British squadron was cruising in the North Sea, he had been advised by his friends against sailing by the last French packet, but that he would go next day on an American ship and deliver his and Mr. Jay's letters and despatches in Paris without an instant's unnecessary delay. On account of bad weather, Jones's ship put in at Dover, whence he proceeded to London to confer with Adams about the situation of the Denmark claim, and reached Paris on the 12th of December.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE TWO MADAME T—S

BEFORE his return to Paris Paul Jones addressed a letter to Jefferson from New York which very fully explained the nature of a serious connection he had formed during his three years' residence in France, and informing him of his intention of formally presenting the lady to him. Jones's inclination toward feminine society, natural to his ardent and sensitive nature and greatly aided by his engaging personality, had hitherto been interrupted by the demands of his public career. But during his second long residence in Paris it had been fully indulged. His relation to the Countess of Nicolson not being renewed upon his return in 1783, he was free to form other ties. No letters from the lady who was now destined to inspire the deepest devotion of his life are preserved, but those which he addressed to her prove that the relation bore the character of a serious and, according to the custom of Parisian society at that period, a recognized liaison, which he intended to legitimize by making the lady his wife. In none of the letters which Jones deposited in the custody of his friend John Ross, in Philadelphia, is her name mentioned in full. Three letters in autograph drafts are addressed to "Madame T.," and two others, to Jefferson, also autograph drafts, contain references to a lady thus designa-

ted. The first letter addressed to Madame T. bears the date of July 24, 1780. The two others, also to a Madame T., are dated September 4 and October 24, 1787. Those to Jefferson are dated September 4, 1787, and September 9, 1788. These letters are all published by Sherburne in his compilations of 1825 and 1851. Several of Jones's later biographers have not unnaturally assumed that the letters were addressed to one and the same person, and have also assumed that her name was Madame Thelison or Tellison, but an investigation of the grounds of both these assumptions reveals that they are untenable.

The first letter to Madame T., written from L'Orient in July, 1780, explains the causes which led to his loss of the *Alliance*, and in its courteous but distant terms of respect indicates the recent formation of his friendship with his correspondent, which was founded on a peculiar confidence in the worthiness of her character and an evident desire for her approbation:

When you did me the honor to ask my promise to write you a particular account of my services in this revolution and of my late expedition, I thought myself very happy indeed in enjoying that pleasing proof of your attention, and it was my firm intention to have fulfilled my promise with you on that head immediately after my return here. Had I undertaken to write my own history to a lady of less elevated mind than Madame T., I should have run too great a risk, especially in what relates to my last battle, many circumstances of which are not yet known to the world and are of such a nature as not to be believed by an ordinary mind upon the evidence of an individual. With you, Madame, I have not the slightest doubt, and the ex-

traordinary event that took place here with respect to the *Alliance* is the only reason that has withheld my pen. I confess to you that I am rather ashamed that such an event could have happened, although, God knows, it was not owing to any fault of mine.

After explaining that the trouble was due to the anxiety of his crew in regard to their prize-money, which they believed he had unjustly retained, he remarked: "Money is essential in war; in love, perhaps you will tell me, the case may be otherwise. Although my departure is near, I hope to have the honor of a letter before I sail. I hope my conduct will always merit your good opinion and that you will honor me in consequence with your attention and permit me to consider you as one of my best friends."

The first mention of the full name "Tellison" is found in Disraeli's "Life of Paul Jones," published by Murray¹ in the year 1825, immediately subsequent to the appearance of Sherburne's first edition. This knowledge, not being drawn from the Sherburne papers, which, as stated by the author of Murray's publication, had been the principal source of his information, in all probability emanated from Lafayette, who had just returned from a visit to America, during which he had been consulted by Sherburne in the compilation of his book. The republication of the Sherburne documents

¹ James R. Thursfield, in his essay on Jones contained in his "Nelson and Other Naval Studies," states that the present head of the Murray publishing house discovered proof among the documents in his possession that Disraeli partially wrote and wholly directed the preparation of the anonymous "Life of Jones" published by his grandfather in the year 1825.

in London was avowedly made with the idea of disabusing the English public of the bitter national prejudice against Jones, and it was natural for Disraeli, who edited the second publication of these papers, to have followed the example of his predecessor in applying to Jones's warm friend and contemporary for any direct information he desired, particularly in regard to the sympathetically interesting sentimental episodes in Jones's history.¹

The letter of July 24, 1788, with the missing name of the lady thus supplied by Disraeli, was reprinted in a corresponding place in his narrative by Robert Sands, who had been employed by Jones's niece, Janette Taylor, to compile and again publish his papers with the addition of those which Miss Taylor had brought with her from Scotland. It is extremely significant to note that, on Miss Taylor's authority, Sands explicitly states in another part of his book that the Madame T. of the later letters, in which the serious character of her intimacy with Jones is revealed, was not Madame Thelison. Jones, then, strangely enough, had two correspondents, both designated in his preserved papers by the single and identical initial. From the name Tellison supplied by Disraeli it is possible to identify the Madame T. of the first letter of 1780. Among the correspondence belonging to the spring of that year, when Jones was at the height of his celebrity in Paris, is strangely pre-

¹ "How often must Jones have remembered Lafayette's warning in regard to Landais"; "'What will our enemies say if we quarrel?' Jones was always remarking"—are examples of the phraseology of Disraeli's edition, which point to a direct communication with Lafayette and are not traceable to the Sherburne papers.

served a little note, ill-spelled and ill-written, from Angélique, "femme de Madame de Bonneuil," in which she thanks Jones for his pleasant remarks to her mistress on her account, and takes the opportunity, in transmitting her lady's regret at being suddenly called away to Versailles and thus missing his expected visit, to beg for herself the gift of his portrait.

Another letter from the lady herself reminds Jones of his promise to conduct her to the Comédie Italienne, and hopes he will not disdain to accept of her little supper. *Ami intime* in the modest home of Madame de Bonneuil this letter shows that he had become during the brief weeks of his stay in Paris. This Madame de Bonneuil had a sister with whom Jones would naturally have been acquainted, and the name of this sister was Madame Thilarié or Tillorier. The strong presumption that Madame Tellison or Thelison, to whom the letter of 1780 was written, was identical with Madame Thilarié is raised to the strongest probability by the following description of Jones by Madame Vigée Le Brun:

I have often supped at Madame Thilarié's, Madame de Bonneuil's sister, with the celebrated sailor who accomplished such services for the American cause and so much harm to the English. His fame had preceded him in Paris, where all knew in how many engagements with his little squadron he had triumphed over the ten times superior forces of England. Nevertheless I never met a more modest man. It was impossible to make him utter a word concerning his great deeds, but on all other subjects he discoursed freely with perfect absence of affectation and infinite wit. Paul Jones was of Scotch

birth. I think that he would have much liked to have become an admiral in the French Marine. I have even heard that when he returned a second time to Paris (after the close of the American Revolution) that he asked it of Louis the 16th, who refused his request.

The inference to be drawn from the above facts points to the extreme probability that the name of Jones's correspondent as given in the Murray "Life" was incorrectly transmitted. Lafayette, repeating it after nearly fifty years to Disraeli, might easily have spoken or written it incorrectly, and Disraeli, supplying it in turn to the unknown scribe who prepared the pages of the book under his direction, might as easily have been responsible for further error. Thilarié, with its nearly identical first syllable to that of Thelison (as the name often appears), might easily have been altered in the several handwritings by which it was transmitted.

In the letter to Jefferson of September 4, 1787, Jones admits his particular interest in another lady, also referred to as Madame T., and furnishes information in regard to her birth and situation:

NEW YORK, *September 4th, 1787.*

I am much obliged to you for the letter from Madame T., which you forwarded by the June packet. I now take the liberty to enclose a letter for that worthy lady, and as I had not the happiness to introduce her to you, because I wished her fortune to be previously established, I shall now tell you in confidence that she is a daughter of the late king, and a lady of quality, on whom his Majesty bestowed a very large fortune on his daughters account. Unfortunately the father died

while the daughter his great favorite was very young, and the mother has never since shown her either justice or natural affection. She was long the silent victim of that injustice, but I had the pleasure to be instrumental in putting her in a fair way to obtain redress. His present Majesty received her last year with great kindness. He gave her afterwards several particular audiences, and said he charged himself with her fortune. Some things were as I have understood fixed on, that depended solely on the king, and he said he would dictate the justice to be rendered by the mother. But the letter you sent me left the feeling author all in tears. Her friend, her protectress, her introductress to the King, was suddenly dead. She was in despair, she lost more than a mother. A loss indeed that nothing can repair, for fortune and favor are never to be compared to tried friendship. I hope, however, she has gone to visit the King in July agreeable to his appointment given her in the month of March. I am persuaded that he would receive her with additional kindness, and that her loss would in his mind be a new claim to his protection, especially as he has acknowledged and well knows her superior merits and just pretensions. As I feel the greatest concern for the situation of this worthy lady, you will render me a great favor by writing her a note requesting her to call on you as you have something to communicate from me. When she comes be so good as to deliver the within letter, and show her this that she may see both my confidence in you and my advice to her.

The enclosure to Madame T. is as follows:

NEW YORK, *Sep. 4th*, 1787.

No language can convey to my fair mourner the tender sorrow I feel on her account. The loss of our

worthy friend is indeed a fatal stroke, it is an irreparable misfortune, which can only be alleviated by this one reflection, that it is the will of God, whose providence has I hope other blessings in store for us. She was a tried friend and more than a mother to you. She would have been a mother to me also had she lived. We have lost her. Let us cherish her memory and send up grateful thanks to the Almighty that we once had such a friend. I cannot but flatter myself that you have yourself gone to the king in July as he had appointed. I am sure your sorrow will be a new inducement for him to protect you and render you justice. He will hear you I am sure, and you may safely unbosom yourself to him and ask his advice, which cannot but be flattering to him to give you. Tell him you must look to him as your father and protector. If it were necessary, I think too, the Count d'Artois, his brother, would on your personal application render you good offices by speaking in your favour. I should like it better, however, if you can do without him. Mr. Jefferson will show you my letter of this date to him. You will see by it how disgracefully I have been detained here by the Board of Treasury. It is impossible for me to stir from this place till I obtain their settlement of the business I have already performed, and as the season is already far advanced, I expect to be ordered to embark directly for my place of destination in the north. Mr. Jefferson will forward me your letters. I am almost without money, and much puzzled to obtain a supply. I have written Dr. Bancroft to endeavor to assist me. I mention this with infinite regret, and for no other reason than because it is impossible for me to transmit you a supply under my present circumstances. This is my fifth letter to you since I left Paris. The two last were from France and I sent them by duplicates, but you say nothing of having received any letters from me.

Summon, my dear friend, all your resolution. Exert yourself, and plead your own cause. You cannot fail of success. Your cause would move a heart of flint. Present my best respects to your sister. You did not mention her in your letter, but I persuade myself she will continue her share of her sweet godson, and that you will cover him all over with kisses from me. They come warm to you *both* from my heart.

Shortly after, on the 24th of October, he wrote again in great anxiety as to her welfare:

The last French packet brought no letter to me from the person whose happiness is dearer to me than anything else. I have been on the rack of fear and apprehension, and am totally unable to account for that silence. My business is done here, and the moment of my return to Europe approaches. My sentiments are unchanged and my impatience can better be imagined than expressed. I have been honoured here beyond my expectations. But your silence makes even honours insipid. I am however far from blaming you. Want of health or some other misfortune must have interposed. If this reaches you, remember me affectionately to your sister and her godson. May heaven avert all trouble from you.

In quoting these letters, the anonymous author of the so-called Edinburgh biography, published in 1830, in communication with Jones's heirs, states that the lady referred to as Madame T.'s introductress to the King was the Princesse de Marsan, the *gouvernante* of the royal children. This information is incorrect, as the Princesse de Marsan, who occupied that position, did not die suddenly in the summer of 1787, but lived until

after the French Revolution. It is impossible to trace the identity of this kindly and influential personage. It is highly probable that her no less mysterious protégée, whose appealing presence, according to Paul Jones, would have melted a heart of flint, was a widow neglected by her own people, and living in retirement and poverty. It was characteristic of Jones's nature that the deep attachment which he felt for her should have arisen primarily from this friendless condition and from the generous protection and wise advice which he had given her. It is impossible to come to any other conclusion than that the "sweet godson," whom Jones wished Madame T. to "cover all over with kisses from him," was his son. His further statement, that her protectress, who had been more than a mother to her, would also had she lived have been a mother to him, also indicates indisputably his honorable and admitted intention of marrying the mother of his child. Miss Taylor's contradiction of the assumption of Jones's biographers, that the Madame T. of the year 1783 was identical with the Madame Thilarié of 1780, is supported by the facts in regard to Madame Thilarié, who was born in an island of the Indian Ocean about the year 1752, quite far enough away from Versailles and its monarch to dispose of any assumption of his paternity. Miss Taylor was possessed of all the private papers of her uncle and knew that the two Madame T.'s were not the same person, but her further statement, preserved in a document signed by herself in the Sparks collection of MSS. in the Harvard library, that the son referred to so significantly in Jones's letter was the son of her de-

ceased husband, is less to be believed, as it is hardly imaginable that Jones would have referred to the child of another in such deeply affectionate terms or would have written that his kisses "came to them *both* warm from his heart." In the last of the two letters which he wrote to Madame T. from America he expressed his keen regret that he was so pressed for money that he was unable to send her a supply, and in his last letter to Jefferson he admitted that his whole income had been at her disposition. Although her full name was undoubtedly known to Miss Taylor, as well as that of the Countess of Nicolson, she reserved many of her uncle's private letters, and by this decision observed what she believed to have been his desire, in concealing forever the secret of her identity. Miss Taylor also states that the sister referred to in Jones's letter was a sister-in-law, an English lady, who resided with her. The last of the letters to Jefferson in which she is mentioned was written from Russia and was included in the papers which Jefferson turned over to Sherburne when he was collecting material for his compilation in the year 1825:

September 9, 1788.

I pray you to inform me if you possibly can, what has become of Mrs. T. I am astonished to have heard nothing from her since I left Paris. I had written to her frequently before I left Copenhagen. If you cannot hear of or see her, you will oblige me by writing a note to M. Dubois, Commisaire du Regiment des Guardes Francais, vis à vis, la Rue de Vivienne, Rue neuve des petits Champs, desiring to speak with him. He will wait on you immediately. You must know that

beside my own purse, which was considerable, I was good natured, or, if you please, foolish enough to borrow for her four thousand livres. Now M. Dubois knows that transaction, and as she received the money entire from me for the reimbursement, I wish to know if she has quitted the debt. When that fear is cleared up, I shall be better able to judge of the rest.

Although all Jones's correspondence had been intercepted in Russia, so that neither Jefferson nor any other of his friends in Paris had news of him while he was in the service of the Empress, no such condition existed in Denmark, and the lady's failure to write to him or to discharge her debts casts a painful reflection upon her constancy and integrity. No further reference to her exists among Jones's published or preserved papers, and if Miss Taylor possessed information which exculpated her from this last regrettable implication, so sadly inconsistent with the character Jones had long believed her to possess, she did not reveal it.

Of Madame Thilarié and her sister Madame de Bonneuil, with whom Jones enjoyed a friendly intimacy in the year 1780, and again during his second residence in Paris, from 1783 to 1787, much is recorded. They were the daughters of Jean de Sanctuari and of his wife Margaret Caillou, who were originally residents of Bordeaux, where Maître Sanctuari was an avocat. He was later commandant of the Isle de Bourbon, afterward Isle Réunion, a French possession in the Indian Ocean, where he lived and where his three daughters were born. In the year 1766 he sent his family to Paris, where his daughters were married: Michelle, the eldest,

in 1767, to Cyrille de Bonneuil, first valet de chambre of the Count D'Artois; Françoise Augustine, the second, in the following year, was married to Jacques Thilarié, a cousin of Jean Charles Thilarié, the distinguished scientist and avocat, who defended the celebrated Cagliostro in the Diamond Necklace case. The third became the wife of a M. Tetard.

All the traits of character and charms of mind which made Paul Jones think himself to have been fortunate in inspiring her interest and friendship were possessed by Madame Thilarié. She was, according to the memoirs of the time, as remarkable for her beauty as for her courage and devotion. Jacques Thilarié died in March, 1783, and she later married a very distinguished avocat, who was like her first husband's cousin—a strong supporter of Cagliostro and greatly influenced by his doctrines. Jean Jacques Duval D'Esprémenil was not only a vigorous antagonist of the Queen, but was the actual instigator and head of the agitation which forced the King to convene the States General. D'Esprémenil, at this period, was the idol of the populace, the most notable example of parliamentary power in its struggle with the power of the King. In the later days, when, with the destruction of that power, the whole structure of society crumbled about him, he attempted vainly to undo his own work and fell honorably in fighting the abolition of the monarchy. He left Paris for Havre, but was arrested and brought back to Paris and to prison. Madame D'Esprémenil, who enthusiastically shared all his ideas, insisted upon returning with him to Paris, where she was soon arrested, together with her

daughter Michelle, who had refused to be separated from her. M. D'Esprémenil was executed in April, 1794, and two months later his wife was led to the scaffold, clad in a *chemise rouge*, forced upon her by her jailers. Her daughter, who had been offered her liberty a few days after her arrest, refused to leave her unhappy mother, but was liberated six months after her mother's execution. Madame de Bonneuil was also arrested, but set free after a long imprisonment, by the exertions of her daughter, who was able to convince the tribunal of her mother's good citizenship. Cyrille de Bonneuil, also arrested on the day the King attempted his flight to Varennes, was liberated, and afterward joined the Count D'Artois on the frontiers in the character of agent or spy, together with two others of his master's faithful servitors.

Madame Thilarié and Madame de Bonneuil were both intimate friends of Madame Le Brun, and frequently met at the house of the celebrated sculptor Le Moyne, who was accustomed to receive the artistic world in the happy days before the Revolution. Madame de Bonneuil, whose *fraicheur de rose* had been Madame Le Brun's admiration, was the ornament of this brilliant house, and figured in a Greek *fête*, organized by Madame Le Brun, as a nymph dancing, flower-crowned, about the flower-decked tables. Madame Le Brun, in her memoirs, mentions having dined at M. Le Moyne's with Lekain, the well-known actor and protégé of Voltaire, together with Paul Jones, Madame Thilarié and Madame de Bonneuil.

On Madame Le Brun's return to Paris she met Ma-

dame de Bonneuil again in the salons of the Napoleonic era, with her *fraicheur de rose* still unimpaired.¹

The aspect and manners of Paul Jones during his second residence in Paris, when as the envoy of his government he was so considerable a figure at court and in society, is characteristically described by Mrs. Adams in a letter written during her residence in the French capital, in the year 1784, before Mr. Adams was sent as minister to England:

Chevalier Jones you have heard much of. He is a most uncommon character. I dare say you would be as much disappointed in him as I was. From the intrepid character he justly supported in the American Navy, I expected to have seen a rough, stout, war-like Roman; instead of that I should sooner think of wrapping him up in cotton wool and putting him in my pocket, than then sending him to contend with cannon balls. He is small of stature, well-proportioned, soft in his speech, easy in his address, polite in his manners, vastly civil, understands all the etiquette of a lady's toilet as perfectly as he does the mast, sails and rigging of his ship. Under all the appearance of this softness he is bold, enterprising, ambitious and active. He has been here often and dined with us several times. He is said to be a man of gallantry and a favorite amongst the French ladies, whom he is frequently commending for the neatness of their persons, their easy manners and their taste in dress. He knows how often the ladies use the baths, what color best suits a lady's complexion, what cosmetics are most favorable to the skin. We do not often see the warrior and the abigail thus united.

Signed, ABIGAIL ADAMS.²

¹ Madame Le Brun painted portraits of all three sisters.

² A copy of this extract was sent to Mr. Stewart of the Navy Department Library by Chaplain H. H. Clark, U. S. Navy, who received it from a friend in Boston.

Such an individual Paul Jones had become during his long residence in Paris. The appearance of extreme delicacy, which had impressed Mrs. Adams as so incongruous in a hero of his reputation, was probably due to the condition of his health, which had already visibly begun to decline. That he had indeed become an accomplished man of the world is shown by the elegance of the letter he at this time wrote to a Scotch lady who had desired his portrait in wax:

(Letter to Mrs. Belches.)

PARIS, *August 29, 1786.*

MADAME:

It is with great pleasure that I now execute the flattering commission you gave me before you left this city. Sir James Stuart, who returns immediately to Scotland, does me the honor to take charge of the medallion you desired I might send you. I am unable to say whether it is well or ill executed, but I feel it receives its value from your acceptance, an honor for which I can never sufficiently express my obligation, but which it will always be my ambition to merit. My respectful compliments await your husband. I am very sensible of his polite attention while here. May you always enjoy a state of happiness as real as is the esteem and respect with which I have the honor to be, Madame,

Your most obedient and most humble servant

J. PAUL JONES.¹

With the diminution of his strength and the strain upon his nerves, always incident to the periods when he

¹This letter with the medallion was presented to the Society of Antiquarians of Scotland in 1860, and is now in the National Museum of Antiquities.

was not at sea and in action, he had become increasingly sensitive to all impressions. On the very day of his return to Paris, Jefferson, replying to the note sent from his lodgings, visited him without delay and imparted a piece of news which was indeed of the very first importance, namely, the announcement of the Empress Catherine's desire that he should enter the Russian service. This announcement, made originally by Jefferson, was accompanied by warm recommendations for Jones's favorable consideration. Jefferson's admiration for his military talents, his personal interest in his advancement, had led him to entertain this prospect for Jones, when it was first communicated to him by M. Simolin, the Russian ambassador at Versailles. The proposition was also endorsed by Washington, who wrote Jefferson as follows:¹

MOUNT VERNON. *August 31, 1788.*

DEAR SIR.

I am glad our Commodore Paul Jones has got employment, and heartily wish him success. His new situation may possibly render his talents and services more useful to us at some future day. I was unapprised of the circumstances which you mention that Congress had once in contemplation to give him promotion. They will judge now how far it may be expedient.

In discussing some recent victories of the Turks over the Russian fleet in the Black Sea, Simolin had intimated that the Empress might be very glad to secure the services of the Chevalier Paul Jones, and was pre-

¹ "Jefferson Papers," vol. 84, no. 98—Washington to Jefferson.

pared to assign him an important command in the Russian navy. Mr. Littlepage, an American then holding the position of chamberlain to the King of Poland, also favored the idea, and offered himself as intermediary between Jones and the Russian ambassador. Although afterward protesting that he had been reluctant to serve under the Russian flag, Jones was so far tempted by the prospect of the important command he had so long desired as to forbear to present Mr. Jay's letter to Louis XVI, containing the request of the American Government for him to embark in the French fleet of evolution.

While awaiting the authorization of the Empress, he procured his credentials from Jefferson as agent for the negotiations of the Danish court, and made haste to depart. On the 2d of February, 1788, the day he had fixed upon to leave Paris, he breakfasted with Mr. Littlepage, for the purpose of meeting the Russian ambassador. M. Simolin confirmed the message communicated to him by Jefferson, saying that in consequence of his knowledge of Jones's character and accomplishments, he had proposed to the Empress that he should be offered the command of her fleet in the Black Sea, and expected that the most flattering and satisfactory proposals would soon arrive in consequence. After M. Simolin had left the house, Mr. Littlepage informed Jones that Simolin had written to the Empress that "if her Imperial Majesty should confide to Jones the chief command of her fleet in the Black Sea, with *carte blanche*, he would answer for it, that in less than a year Jones would make Constantinople tremble."

Setting out on the evening of that day, Jones arrived in Copenhagen on the 4th of March, after a long journey, seriously exhausted from cold and fatigue. He kept his bed for a week and then wrote to Jefferson that, although he had been alarmingly ill, he now felt himself better and "hoped the danger was over."

As soon as he was able he waited on the French minister, the Baron de La Houze, and by him was presented to the prime minister, Count Bernsdorff. "I was much flattered by my reception," he said in his letter to Jefferson, "and our conversation was long and very particular, respecting America and the new Constitution, of which I presented a copy. He observed that it had struck him as a very dangerous power to make the President Commander-in-Chief. In other respects, it appeared to please him much, as leading to a near and sure treaty of commerce between America and Denmark. . . . I shall follow the business closely. In a few days when I am reestablished in health, I am to be presented to the whole court and to sup with the King. I shall after that be presented to all the corps diplomatique and other persons of distinction here. The Hamburg papers, I am told, have announced the death of Dr. Franklin. I shall be extremely concerned if the account proves true,—God forbid."

In a subsequent letter, of the 18th, he thus chronicles his reception at the court:

Yesterday His Excellency the Baron de La Houze, Minister Plenipotentiary of France at this court, did me the honor to present me publicly to His Majesty, the

royal family, and chief personages at the royal palace here. I had a very polite and distinguished reception. The Queen Dowager conversed with me for some time and said the most civil things. Her Majesty has a dignity of person and deportment, which becomes her well, and which she has the secret to reconcile with great affability and ease. The Princess Royal is a charming person, and the graces are so much her own, that it is impossible to see and converse with her without paying her that honor which artless beauty and good nature will ever command. All the royal family spoke to me except the King, who speaks to no person when presented. His Majesty saluted me with great complaisance at first and as often afterwards as we met in the course of the evening. The Prince Royal is greatly beloved and extremely affable; he asked me a number of pertinent questions respecting America. I had the honor to be invited to sup with His Majesty and the royal family. The company at table, consisting of seventy ladies and gentlemen, including the royal family, the ministers of state, and foreign ambassadors, was very brilliant.

On the 19th he applied to M. Chezaulx, who was still consul at Bergen in Norway, asking him to communicate what he knew and believed "in relation to the true and entire value of the prizes," and on the next day he wrote to Jefferson, communicating the desire of the French minister that his court should support the demand for indemnification. On the 24th he wrote to remind Count Bernsdorff of his verbal promise that a prompt and explicit reply would be made to his demands, which he was empowered to make by order of the American Congress.

That the courteous prime minister was as reluctant to comply with his demands as he had been with those of Doctor Franklin, and as ready to meet them with his accomplished diplomacy, is shown by the following correspondence.

Jones wrote on the 30th:

Your silence on my mission of the United States to this Court leaves me in the most painful suspense, the more so as I have made Your Excellency acquainted with the promise I am under to proceed as soon as possible to St. Petersburg. This being the ninth year since the three prizes reclaimed by the United States was seized upon in the Port of Bergen in Norway, it is to be presumed that this court has long since taken an ultimate resolution respecting the compensation demand made by Congress. Though I am extremely sensible of the favorable reception with which I have been distinguished at this court, and particularly flattered by the polite attention with which you have honored me at every conference, yet I have remarked with great concern, that you have never led the conversation to the object of my mission here. A man of your liberal sentiments will not therefore be offended or surprised at my plain dealing when I repeat that I impatiently expect a prompt and categorical answer in writing from this court to the act of Congress of the 25th of October last; both my duty and the circumstances of my situation constrain me to make this demand, in the name of my sovereign, the United States of America. But I beseech you to believe that though I am extremely tenacious of the honor of the American flag, yet my personal interest in the decision I now ask would never have induced me to present myself at this court. You are too just, Sir, to delay my business here, which

would put me under the necessity to break the promise I have made to Her Imperial Majesty, conformable to your advice.

Thus brought to the point, Count Bernsdorff replied, on the 4th of April:

You have requested of me an answer to the letter you did me the honor to remit me from Mr. Jefferson, Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States of America, near his Most Christian Majesty. I do it with so much more pleasure as you have inspired me with as much interest as confidence, and this occasion appears to me favorable to make known the sentiments of the King, my master, on the subjects to which we attach so much importance. Nothing can be farther from the plans and the wishes of His Majesty than to let fall a negotiation, which has only been suspended in consequence of circumstances arising from the necessity of maturing a new situation, so as to enlighten himself on their reciprocal interests and to avoid the inconvenience of a precipitate and imperfect arrangement. I am authorized, Sir, to give you, and through you to Mr. Jefferson, the word of the King, that His Majesty will renew the negotiation for a treaty of amity and commerce, in the forms already agreed upon, at the instant that the new constitution, (that admirable plan, so worthy of the wisdom of the most enlightened men) will have been adopted by the States, to which nothing more was wanted to assure to itself a perfect consideration. If it has not been possible, Sir, to discuss definitively with you, neither the principal object nor its accessories, the idea of eluding the question, or of retarding the decision had not the least part in it. I have already had the honor to express to you in our conversation, that your want of plenipotentiary powers from Con-

gress was a natural and invincible obstacle. It would be likewise contrary to the established custom to change the seat of negotiation, which has not been broken off but only suspended, thereby to transfer it from Paris to Copenhagen. I have only one more favor to ask of you, Sir, that you would be the interpreter of our sentiments in regard to the United States. We desire to form with them connections, solid, useful and essential. . . . These are the sentiments which we promise you, Sir, on our part, and we flatter ourselves to find them likewise in America. Nothing, then, can retard the conclusion of an arrangement, which I am happy to see so far advanced.

No answer could be made to the minister's observation in regard to Jones's lack of plenipotentiary powers, and on the following day Jones thus concluded the correspondence:

I pray your Excellency to inform me when I can have the honor to wait on you, to receive the letter you have been kind enough to promise to write to me in answer to the act of Congress of the 25th of October last? As you have told me that my want of plenipotentiary powers to terminate ultimately the business now on the carpet between this court and the United States, has determined you to authorize the Baron de Blome to negotiate and settle the same with Mr. Jefferson at Paris and to conclude at the same time an advantageous treaty of commerce between Denmark and the United States, my business here will of course be at an end when I shall have received your letter and paid you my thanks in person for the very polite attentions with which you have honored me.

The following letter of Jones to Jefferson announced the termination of his negotiation with the court of Denmark, and his final decision to enter the Russian service, with the significant expression of his continued loyalty to the United States:

COPENHAGEN, *April 8, 1788.*

To His Excellency, THOMAS JEFFERSON, *Esquire,*
Sir:

By my letters to the Count Bernsdorff, and his Excellency's answer, you will see that my business here is at an end. If I have not finally concluded the object of my mission, it is neither your fault nor mine. The powers I received are found insufficient, and you could not act otherwise than was prescribed in your instructions. Thus it frequently happens that good opportunities are lost when the Supreme Power does not place a sufficient confidence in the distant operations of public officers, whether civil or military, I have, however, the melancholy satisfaction to reflect that I have been received and treated here with a distinction far above the pretensions of my public mission, and I felicitate myself sincerely and being at my own expense (and even at the peril of my life, for my sufferings from the inclemency of the weather and my want of proper means to guard against it on the journey were inexpressible, and I believe from what I yet feel, will continue to affect my constitution) the instrument to renew the negotiation between this country and the United States, the more so as the honor is now reserved for you to display your great abilities and integrity by the completion and improvement of what Dr. Franklin had wisely begun. I have done, then, what perhaps no other person would have undertaken under the same circumstances; and while I have the consolation to hope that

the United States will derive solid advantages from my journey and efforts here, I rest perfectly satisfied that the interests of the brave men I commanded will experience in you parental attention, and that the American flag can lose none of its lustre but the contrary, while its honor is confided in you. America being a young nation with an increasing promise, which will naturally produce a navy, I please myself with the hope that in the treaty you are about to conclude with Denmark you will find it easy and highly advantageous to include certain articles for admitting America into the armed neutrality. I persuade myself beforehand that this would afford pleasure to the Empress of Russia, who is at the head of that noble and humane combination, and as I shall now set out immediately for St. Petersburg I will mention the idea to her Imperial Majesty and let you know her answer.

If Congress should think I deserve the promotion that was proposed when I was last in America, and should condescend to confer upon me the grade of rear-admiral from the day I took the *Serapis* (the 23rd of September, 1779), I am persuaded it will be very agreeable to the Empress, who now deigns to offer me an equal rank in her service, although I have never yet had the honor to draw my sword in her cause, nor to do any other act that could directly merit her Imperial benevolence. While I express in the warm effusion of a grateful heart the deep sense I feel of my eternal obligation to you, as the author of the honorable prospect that is now before me, I must rely on your friendship to justify to the United States, the important step I now take conformable to your advice. You know I had no idea of this new fortune when I found that you had put it in train before my last return to Paris from America. I have not forsaken the country that has had many disinterested and difficult proofs of my steady

affection, and I can never renounce the glorious title of a citizen of the United States. It is true I have not the expressed permissions of the sovereignty to accept the offer of her Imperial Majesty, yet America is independent, is in perfect peace, has no public employment for my military talents. But why should I excuse a conduct which I should rather hope would meet with general approbation. In the latter part of the year 1782, Congress passed an act for my embarkation in the fleet of His Most Christian Majesty and when a few months ago I left America to return to Europe I was made the bearer of a letter to His Most Christian Majesty, requesting me to be permitted to embark in the fleets of evolution. Why did Congress pass those acts? To facilitate my improvement in the art of conducting fleets and military operation. I am, then, conforming myself to the views of Congress, but the role allotted me is infinitely more high and difficult than Congress intended. Instead of receiving lessons from able masters in the theory of war, I am called to immediately practise where I must command in chief, conduct the most difficult operations, be my own preceptor, and instruct others. I pray you, Sir, to explain the circumstances of my situation and be the interpreter of my sentiments to the United States and Congress. . . .

I am with perfect esteem. etc.

Jones's statement that the Empress had already offered him the rank of rear-admiral, as a reason for his receiving the same from the United States, although criticized as a departure from the strictest veracity, was entirely justified by the assurances brought to Copenhagen by a special courier from the Empress herself, who had already issued a ukase that the rank of cap-

tain commandant, bestowed upon him in February, should be changed to that of rear-admiral immediately upon his assuming his command in the Black Sea.¹

By this same courier the Empress, impatient for his presence, forwarded a thousand ducats to defray the expenses of his journey to her capital. The seat of negotiations regarding the Denmark claims being now definitely transferred to Paris, Jones was free, as he was undoubtedly most eager, to set out for Russia.

He wrote Jefferson that it had been his "intention and desire," to revisit Paris before his departure for his service in Russia, but this was abandoned, with all that his decision implied to the person "whose happiness was dearer to him than anything else," in his desire to reap the glories which he believed were awaiting him and to review, from under his admiral's flag, the fleet of his dreams.

¹2d April, 1788, No. 240. Ukase to the General Feld Marshall Prince Georgeo Alexandrovitch Potemkin de Tauride:

"To change by our grace, the rank of Paul Jones to that of Rear Admiral, as soon as he presents himself to you and to confer a charge upon him in the fleet of the Black Sea according to your appreciation."

CHAPTER XXIV

RUSSIA

FROM the outset of his relation to Catherine II, which on her part began with such flattering eagerness for his services, Paul Jones showed an extraordinary desire to merit her good opinion.

From the first page to the last of the long journal which relates the history of his Russian services the note of personal regard for the autocrat of the north is strangely evident, showing that the great personality had laid a strong hold upon his imagination. In Catherine, the woman, holding in her hands the promise of the fulfilment of his ultimate ambitions, his worship of the feminine, and his undying love of glory, found their united realization. No praise, no honor among the many which he cherished, had so exquisitely flattered him as the notice of the Empress. It constituted in his mind a personal tie, whose responsibilities he instantly and unreservedly recognized; and like a knight of old he hastened to her call.

Although many apprehensions of difficulty and disaster, like warning whispers, haunted his mind, he dwelt persistently upon the idea he had formed of her "glorious character," and put his future in her hands. In his letter of acceptance to Baron Krudener, written before his departure for Russia, he confesses his "irresistible

desire to merit her precious opinion," and expresses his confidence that "a sovereign so magnanimous could not sanction any arrangement that may give pain at the outset to the man she deigns to honor with her notice, and who wishes to devote himself entirely to her service. A conjoined command is hurtful and often fatal to military operations. There is no military man who is so entirely master of his passions as to keep free from jealousy and its consequences on such occasions. Being an entire stranger, I have more to fear from a joint authority, than any officer in her majesty's service. I cannot conceive that her majesty could deem it expedient to divide the command in the Black Sea." Clear as his ideas were of what he already feared might prove an impossible situation, he prepared for his journey, "persuading himself," as he wrote in his journal, "that I could not avoid going to St. Petersburg to thank the Empress for the favorable opinion she had conceived of me."

The story of his mad dash for Russia, in its desperate courage and utter disregard of personal danger, is surpassed by no recorded act of his life. Setting out by Sweden, he stopped overnight at Stockholm, refusing the congenial pleasure of appearing at the court of that capital. At Gresholm, he found that ice solidly blocked all passage across the Gulf of Bothnia. To the north all roads were impassable, and as the "Empress awaited him from day to day," he determined upon the daring and never-before-attempted enterprise of doubling the ice to the southward and entering the Baltic Sea. In an open passage-boat about thirty feet in length, with

another smaller boat to drag over the ice, he left Gresholm at dawn on a day near the middle of April, without daring to communicate his plans to his boatmen.

All day he steered south along the coast of Sweden, picking his way between the ice and the shore, and at nightfall, with pistol in hand, forced the terrified men to steer for the open sea. A strong wind from the west blew the uncovered boat toward the northern shore of the Gulf of Finland, only to bring them at dawn within sight of great fields of ice and land hopelessly distant. The wind, which was now half a gale, forbade any thought of regaining the Swedish coast, and he "had nothing left" but to turn about and make for the southern shore of the gulf. The next night the storm increased, the sea running high and blinding snow driving over the unprotected boats. The small boat was lost, and the men rescued with the utmost difficulty. The larger was nearly crushed by the ice, but with pistol steadily raised, while with one hand he steered by the light of his travelling lamp, fixed over the compass, he forced the desperate men to keep on rowing.

After four days and four nights, they finally crossed the Gulf of Finland, and landed at Revel, a Russian port on the southern shore, where "the enterprise," he wrote, "was regarded as a kind of miracle." With provisions, rewards, and a good pilot, he left his men to find their way back in more favorable weather, and proceeded by land to St. Petersburg, where he arrived on the 2d of May. Three days later, introduced

by Count de Segur, the French ambassador to St. Petersburg, he was accorded his first audience with the Empress. Already reduced in strength by the serious illness caused by his late journey to Denmark, the hero whom Mrs. Adams had wished to wrap in cotton wool, after this second journey of ruthless personal exposure, was in a fair way to be overcome by the flattering reception which the Empress deigned to accord him. An actress as well as a sovereign, "Catherine le grand," as the Prince de Ligne loved to address her, was by no means averse to impress those who approached her with all the panoply of imperial robes and poses of majesty. No less a courtier than the Count de Segur relates that he was so overwhelmed by his first sight of the Empress that his carefully learned phrases deserted him. Small wonder that Paul Jones, on fire with adoring anticipation, responding like a worn and overstrung instrument to every impression, should have lent himself to her extraordinary and universally recognized seduction. "Her majesty," he wrote, "gave me so flattering a reception and treated me with so much distinction, that I was overcome by her courtesies, (*je me laissai seduire*) and put myself in her hands without making any stipulation for my personal advantage. I demanded but one favor, that I should never be condemned unheard."

Flattered and pleased by his eagerness to serve her, the Empress wrote to her correspondent, Baron Grimm, who had particularly recommended him, that she "believed Paul Jones would suit us marvellously," and followed her gracious reception by invitations to dinner

and continued marks of her favor. The court dignitaries followed her lead, and the palace of Tzarkoeselo became as familiar to Jones as the château of Versailles. The nobility of St. Petersburg besieged him with invitations, and for a fortnight he lived in the same blaze of glory which had illumined the Parisian skies at the height of his fame. "The empress received me," he wrote in delight to his friend Lafayette, "with a distinction the most flattering that perhaps any stranger can boast of. I was detained against my will and continually feasted at court and in the best society. . . . For the Empress fame has never yet done her justice. I am sure that no stranger who has not known that illustrious character ever conceived how much her majesty is made to reign over a great empire." That Catherine II was imposing, by the mere virility and breadth of her great intelligence, has been shown in the history of her extraordinary reign; that her still more extraordinary temperament had a magnetic and deeply human aspect is no less apparent in the generosity of her actions and the devotion of her subjects. The charm and amenity of her manner when she was favorably disposed was always irresistible.

She showed every wish to please Jones at the outset, and in her desire to reassure him against his apprehensions of the difficulties which might prevent his success in her service made haste to send him, before his departure for the seat of war, a letter from Field-Marshal Prince Potemkin, written to Besborodko, her minister of state, in which the prince had declared his intention of "doing all in his power to make the Chevalier Paul

Jones' situation pleasant and advantageous and of furnishing him all possible occasions in which he might display his skill and valour." "I have sent this letter to you," wrote the Empress, "and beg you to return it as I have not even made a copy be taken, so anxious am I that you should see it. I hope that it will efface all doubts from your mind, and prove to you that you are to be connected only with those who are most favorably disposed to you. I have no doubt but that on your side, you will fully justify the opinion we have formed of you and apply yourself with zeal to support the reputation and the name you have acquired for valour and skill on the element in which you are to serve. Adieu, I wish you happiness and health."

More effectual proofs of her favor were needed at this time by Paul Jones, against whom the English officers in the fleet of Admiral Grieg were so violently opposed that they threatened to resign in a body if compelled to serve under him. This prejudice found its echo at court among the number of Catherine's own counsellors, and she was compelled to use all her authority to keep him in her service.¹

Although ignorant of these efforts to displace him, Jones was not unaware of the prevailing English feeling against him, and wrote carelessly to Lafayette that "his reception at court had been a cruel grief to the English,

¹ "May, 1788. Got up early remarked anxiety. They block everything in the council. They almost got him pushed aside, and it was with difficulty that we kept things straight. I don't know who spoils all, but I can call him canaille because he damages the state. I told this to Count Besborodko, that he might tell it to whom would listen."—Khrapovitsky's Diary of the Empress.

but that their dissatisfaction gave him no pain." Its influence was far more formidable than he supposed, as he was later to find. With full confidence in the fair words and promises of the Empress and her general-in-chief, he left St. Petersburg on the 18th of May, and making the long journey of seven hundred and fifty miles in twelve days arrived at Potemkin's head-quarters at St. Elizabeth on the 1st of June. His reception by Potemkin was no less pleasing in appearance than he had anticipated, as he wrote to Count de Segur:

I was received with much cordiality by Prince Potemkin, and have received very great attention from everybody during the day and two nights which I have spent here. I find the Prince a most amiable man. I am much pleased with him and greatly desire to merit his regard.

So much only for the extraordinary man whom, as Jones's Edinburgh biographer very properly observes, he wholly failed to comprehend. Potemkin was commander of all the Russian forces, both naval and military, and possessing an unlimited influence over the Empress, was nothing less than all-powerful. No suspicion of the extent of this influence or the fact that he must first please Potemkin if he wished to retain the favor of the Empress was in the mind of Paul Jones, who looked only to her as chief arbiter and the sole object of his devotion.

"I shall write to the Empress," he wrote to Count de Segur, "who has addressed me a letter full of goodness, but I shall never be able to express how much greater

I find her than fame reports. With the character of a very great man, she will always be adored as the most amiable and captivating of her sex. As to yourself, my dear Count, you have treated me with a kindness and friendship, so precious to my heart, that I am sure you will render full justice to the sentiments which your conduct must produce in a soul of sensibility which has loved you for a long time past. After having had a Te Deum sung today we have drunk her majesty's health in the good wine which you have sent me today."

The Count de Segur, who was present with the army of Rochambeau on the fleet of De Vaudreuil, and had known Jones during the period of its cruise, has written in his memoirs of his friendly reception of the American officer and of his presentation of the latter at court.¹

The war in which Jones was to engage had for its primary object the taking of the fortified town of Otchakov, which formed the frontier of the Turks—on the northern shore of the Black Sea. Catherine's ultimate purpose was the conquest of the Porte, and the re-establishment of the Greek Empire. Potemkin's sympathy with this far-reaching scheme of conquest arose

¹ "The famous Paul Jones arrived in Russia, seeking as he has always done for adventures and battles. This sailor had made himself celebrated by his rare intrepidity, having brought terror to the English coasts in his little vessel, and captured by force of arms a frigate and a ship of war. He brought no letters, the United States not yet recognized as a nation by Russia, having no minister, but I had fought in America and every American was to me a brother in arms. Paul Jones was also a member, with myself, of the Order of the Cincinnati and with no fear of disapproval I presented him to the Empress. That princess received him favorably and permitted me to bring him to her table, gave him the rank of Rear Admiral and a command in the Black Sea."

primarily from his desire to add the Cross of Saint George to his collection of decorations which he loved with all the ardor of the jewel-bedecked barbarian. This cross could only be conferred on a commander-in-chief after a victory, and he left no stone unturned to inflame Catherine's desire for conquest to the blazing-point, and to force the reluctant Porte to hostilities.

The last domain of the Tartar hordes, the Taurida, now called the Crimea, under the alternate suzerainty of the Turks and Russians, was so torn by successive revolutions and so menaced by Potemkin's fleets and armies that the Khan had at last abdicated in favor of Catherine, who found herself thus in the possession of the Black Sea and very close to Turkey itself. Potemkin was made the governor of the Taurida, from which he took his title "Tauricien," and was also put in control of the vast southern provinces of the Kouban, lately added to the empire. In the year 1787 he planned and executed with unrivalled magnificence and prodigies of theatrical effect the famous progress of the Empress to the Euxine, where, after having formally taken possession of the sceptre of the conquered Khan, it was her desire to conduct her young grandson Constantine to the gates of the city, for whose possession he had been prophetically named. In company with her discarded and subjugated lover the King of Poland, her ally the Emperor of Austria, the Prince de Ligne, Nassau Siegen, and the ambassadors of England, Austria, and France, she made her extraordinary journey in cavalcades and painted galleys, across plains and along rivers, among villages built in a night, and mountains blazing with her

imperial arms. Arriving at the ancient Tartar capital, she rested awhile in the deserted harems of the palace, but a childish indisposition of the new Emperor Constantine prevented her from proceeding farther toward the execution of her illusory project of pointing out to him his destined kingdom.

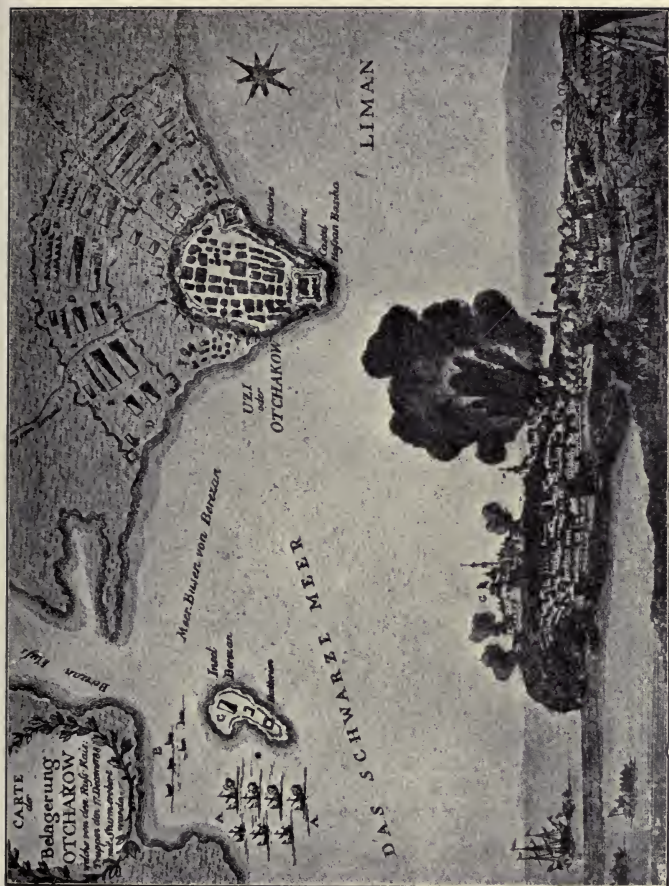
The threatening array of military forces which Potemkin had assembled in the Crimea to do her honor nevertheless so frightened the Porte that it was finally moved to reply to repeated insults and acts of outrage in Turkish territory by an open declaration of war. Several nations then, as now, were acutely interested in the protection of the Ottoman Empire, with the object of preserving the peace of Europe and the balance of power. Prussia and England promised assistance to the Turks against Russia and Austria; France, irresolute at the outbreak of her internal troubles, hesitated to take sides, but Sweden, under Gustav III, prepared to invade the north of Russia if the Empress refused to relinquish the Crimea to the Porte and arrest her warlike preparations. The north of Russia was left bare of defence, owing to the withdrawing of the troops by Potemkin, and the terror became so intense at St. Petersburg that the Empress was on the eve of flying to Moscow. Only the incomprehensible dilatoriness of Gustav in using his advantage prevented serious disaster to Catherine's empire. At this crisis the necessity of gaining a definite advantage over the Turks in the south was of the very first importance.

While Othakov remained in the hands of the Turks it was doubtful if Potemkin could retain his hold on the

Crimea. Immediately upon the declaration of war Potemkin, assembling his troops, sent them off to that point, and rapidly equipped a fleet to attack the town by sea. The Turks, aware of these preparations, also sent land troops to the defence of their stronghold and a great fleet of one hundred and twenty sail, including sixteen large ships of the line, under the command of one of the ablest and most distinguished of their admirals, the Captain Hassan Pasha. At the moment when Jones arrived on the scene this formidable naval force lay just without Otchakov, in the Black Sea. Potemkin informed him that it had been his original intention to place him in command of the Russian squadron at Sevastopol, believing that the Crimea would be attacked at that point, but he now offered him, instead, the command of the fleet in the Liman. This wide and shallow estuary runs eastward about fifty miles from the shore of the Black Sea. At its mouth two promontories approach so closely together as to leave little space for any but light-draught vessels to pass. Otchakov is situated on the northern point; Kinburn, the other promontory, was held by the Russians and commanded by the celebrated general Suvaroff. At the inner extremity of the Liman, where the great river Dnieper and the lesser Bog pour down their floods from the north, Kherson is situated, the principal naval depot of the Russians in that region and the seat of the admiralty. Sand-banks and dangerous shoals extend through the waters of the Liman, making all navigation exceedingly dangerous.

No hint that any general officer other than himself

was to be in command of the Russian maritime forces in the Black Sea had been conveyed to Jones by the Empress or her ministers in Paris and Denmark. The Brigadier du Jour, the Chevalier Ribas, repeated Potemkin's assurances that he was to have the full command of the fleet in the Liman, but the written orders preserved in the Admiralty College distinctly confine his command to that of the sailing-vessels, while that of the flotilla of gun-boats was given to Jones's old and unfavorably known acquaintance, the Prince of Nassau Siegen. With repeated promises that Nassau was to act under his orders, he set out for Kherson in the company of Ribas, to be placed in command of his destined squadron by the chief of the admiralty. His first interview with Rear-Admiral Mordwinoff convinced him that he had entered on a delicate and disagreeable service. Mordwinoff received him with undisguised hostility, and refused to deliver to him his rear-admiral's flag. Proceeding, after this unpleasant experience, to Glouboca, where his squadron was stationed, Jones went on board the one ship of war, the *Wolodimer*, and presented his orders to Brigadier Alexiano, who had hitherto been in command. This man was an excitable Greek, of doubtful reputation, who, although originally a subject of Turkey, had distinguished himself as a corsair against that country. He was bitterly aggrieved at being superseded by Jones, who found him at the moment of his arrival in the midst of a conference of the officers, whom he was trying to persuade to open refusal to serve under Jones. "To give time for these angry spirits to become calm," Jones went off for a few days to



OTCHAKOFF.
 From an old engraving.

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Kinburn, to reconnoitre the Russian defence and to make the acquaintance of Suvaroff. He instantly perceived the necessity of erecting a battery on the extreme point of Kinburn to cover the entrance of the Liman, and although Suvaroff was unable to carry out the suggestion in time to prevent the Turks from getting in their big bomb vessels and the largest of their floating batteries, his compliance with Jones's suggestion not only proved his intelligence, but was of incalculable use in the engagements which afterward took place between the opposed fleets. In a few days Jones returned to Glouboca, to find that Alexiano had been persuaded by Potemkin to retain his commission and that the officers of his squadron had become entirely reconciled to service under his orders. Jones therefore hoisted his rear-admiral's flag to the mast of the *Wolodimer*, and turned his attention to the quality and situation of his squadron.

The naval force which Potemkin had collected in the treacherous waters of the Liman to defend Kherson and Kinburn, and to meet the great fleet of the Turks, was of a kind which under any other generalship than that of Paul Jones must have been completely and shamefully beaten. It included a squadron of sailing-ships and a flotilla of gun-boats; the latter, on account of the shallowness of the Liman, alone being adapted for use. The squadron consisted of one ship of the line, the *Wolodimer*, mounting only twenty-six guns, five frigates, five sloops, with four smaller vessels, making, all told, fifteen sail. These ships were ill-constructed, sailed badly, and were in no way adapted to carry the heavy

guns with which they were mounted in the shallow waters of the estuary. The flotilla, which a French officer, M. Langeron, described as "a motley collection of detestable boats of all sizes and shapes, armed by men who were neither sailors, soldiers, or officers, but Russians and no cowards," were the same frail constructions which had carried the Empress and her suite down the rivers in her triumphal progress, and were in danger of sinking at any moment under the heavy weight of the large gun with which each had been mounted. When Jones perceived that his sailing-ships were actually within one or two inches of the bottom, and was informed by his officers that if he made the smallest failure even in carrying out the decisions they had approved of they would instantly resign, he realized that the task of beating the overwhelming superior force of the Turks was in all human probability impossible. Added to these staggering odds he was disappointed in his expectation of an undivided command in a country whose language and customs were entirely strange to him.

The Prince of Nassau Siegen, who had already been for some weeks on the scene, had also been promised the full command of the Liman fleet. Potemkin secretly hastened to assure Nassau that he "did not intend to tie his hands," and wrote repeated orders to him and to Jones to act together and in harmony. Thus the precise conditions which Jones had so greatly feared, and which he had believed the Empress would refuse to sanction, developed at the outset of the campaign, in which he not only had a divided command, but in

Nassau and Alexiano two utterly treacherous and jealous colleagues. It would have been wise if Jones had resigned his command when he discovered that Potemkin had not carried out his engagements, but he had accomplished prodigies before under circumstances which would have deterred any other commander, and he faced these new and wellnigh overwhelming difficulties with his customary courage. Inferior forces had been his before and treacherous colleagues, but never had he been in command of ships which could not navigate, nor served under a superior and utterly capricious general such as the Prince Potemkin. In the campaign in which he was now to take part the course of affairs did not develop or control the personalities engaged, but those personalities absolutely controlled and developed results.

The personality of Potemkin was the subject of the rival pens of the Prince de Ligne and of Count de Segur, who exhausted pages of paradox in a duel of fine writing without leaving to history a conclusion as to whether he was a genius or a madman. Enormous in stature, as he was violent in temperament, Potemkin, the Russian, typified the country of which he was the co-ruler with Catherine. Incapable of consecutive thought, beginning with ardor what he was willing to relinquish at the slightest caprice, he still possessed the brilliant intuitions of genius, as well as a megalomania which was the source of his initiative. With unbounded ambition and a force great enough to dictate to the greatest female ruler of history, he was devoid of any cultivation except what could be gained

by questioning his associates. Barbaric in his tastes, in his palaces and personal adornment, he had moments of idealism and of generosity which attached many to him, and led the Empress and her court to pardon his gross carelessness and his excesses. At one moment he appeared in all the glory of jewels and blazing court-dress, the next he lounged in bare feet and dressing-gown, biting his nails, while he permitted ambassadors to sue for his favors or kept the Austrian Emperor for hours in his anteroom. In one talent alone he was the fit consort of Catherine, for, as his remarkable letters disclose, he was a lover of extraordinary fire and equally extraordinary eloquence. Passing through a passionate relation typical of their singularly similar temperaments, Catherine and Potemkin, united by a profound and unalterable devotion, maintained a close comradeship, permitting and aiding each other's amours. Although a succession of other favorites had occupied his former position, the Russian aristocracy generally believed that he was united to the sovereign by a secret and indissoluble tie, and flattered and fawned upon him. Potemkin would never have attained to any post of importance in another country or time or under another ruler.

Nassau Siegen, without possessing a spark of the greatness of heart which redeemed Potemkin's brutality, was similar in his audacity, his desire for distinction, and his indecision. He had been welcomed by Potemkin as a kindred soul when he arrived in Russia to accompany Catherine on her triumphal progress, and had become literally the companion of his bed and

table. He was notorious, rather than famous, throughout Europe for his foolhardy excursions after glory. Beginning with big-game hunting with Bougainville, he distinguished himself by killing a tiger and seducing the Queen of Tahiti. He next planned to establish an empire in Africa, and with the passing of this bubble exposed his incapacity as a French colonel, in the year 1779, in an unsuccessful attack upon the island of Jersey, and the next year in command of some floating batteries before Gibraltar. Succeeding, in spite of these failures, in establishing a reputation for courage and chivalry, and received intimately at the court of Marie Antoinette, neither the Duc de Levis nor Madame Vigée Le Brun, who have left portraits of him, could find a trace of charm or a ray of nobility in his speech or manners, while the Count de Segur states that he was capricious to the last degree and prone to irritation at the lightest word. After running through several fortunes, this singular individual, who doubtless inherited his character as well as his illegitimate descent from his grandmother, the notorious beauty of the regency, Charlotte de Mailly Nesle, found a congenial consort in the divorced Princess Sangasko, of Poland, who added to the chivalric traits of her race a love of romancing which rivalled Munchausen's.¹

Although failing to satisfy the critical taste of his French contemporaries, Nassau Siegen, allied, as he

¹ "Madame de Nassau had a romantic imagination which often led her beyond the limits of truth. One day, for instance, she gravely related that the keepers on one of her estates, on the borders of the Ukraine, finding themselves too few to resist the attack of some Cossacks, had assembled a company of fifty bears to assist them, and that these animals had fought well and rendered excellent service."—"Souvenirs et Portraits" by the Duc de Levis.)

was, to the courts and societies of Europe, was the constant companion of Catherine's own intimates, the Prince de Ligne and Count de Segur, and admitted to the small circle of her daily dinner-table. His fantastic pretensions were immediately recognized not only by Potemkin, but by Catherine herself, who consistently favored and protected him. Such a rival Jones could not hope to displace, and the scene, with such a co-actor and under such a director as Potemkin, was set for inevitable disaster. Although he afterward claimed the chief command of the Liman fleet,¹ and referred to Jones only as an unsatisfactory and disappointing associate, Nassau Siegen, both by letters and acts, acknowledged at first Jones's higher rank and superior command.

Jones must have had his misgivings early in the day in regard to his associate, for in one letter, of the 28th May, Nassau wrote that "it was fortunate the wind had hitherto prevented the attack of the Turks, for he would surely have been compelled to retreat." The next day he implored Jones, in very bad French, "de me mander ce que vous feres etant decider a ne marcher que lorsque vous me proteges." No suggestion which displayed the least hint of military knowledge issued from the lips of this knight-errant, but he strongly recommended that they should exaggerate whatever victory might be gained in their official reports. This intention, fully avowed to his wife,² was unfortunately

¹ Count de Segur and the Prince de Ligne both refer to Nassau Siegen as having the undivided direction of the campaign.

²"*Mar. 25, 1789.*

"I am very happy, my Princess. M. le Prince Potemkin has given me the command of the naval forces destined to attack Otchakoff. I shall have the opportunity of making people talk about me at a very cheap price, and as one does not adopt my metier, except for this pur-

less unsympathetic to Potemkin than to Jones, who had never needed to resort to this method of gaining reputation.

Potemkin forbade Jones to attack Otchakov until his land forces should arrive to assist him. Under these orders, Jones, after mature consideration, decided to place the fleet in an obtuse triangle, with the ends open toward Otchakov, the squadron of sailing-ships in the centre, the boats of the flotilla forming the right and left wings, with a reserve in the rear of the squadron. One wing was to protect Kherson and the Bog, across which the troops were to advance, and the left was to guard Kinburn. A stronger and more effective disposition of his forces could not have been devised. This movement accomplished, Jones called a conference of his officers on board the *Wolodimer*, in accordance with the *Ordonnance* of Peter the Great, addressed them with earnestness and eloquence, and proposed to them nine questions as to various points of importance. Nassau, who was present at this conference where Jones presided, had no answers to these technical questions, but urged the immediate wisdom of leaving Jones's excellent position and advancing at once upon the enemy. Although this was in direct disobedience to Potemkin's orders, Nassau, supported by Alexiano, was in such

pose, you understand that I should be contented. You must also be satisfied, for you may be assured that I shall run scarcely any risk. Although my expedition will not be at all dangerous, it will be brilliant nevertheless, for I shall make so much noise about it that the echo will resound. The prince gives me absolute authority, and I leave tomorrow for Kherson to inspect my squadron."—(From "Un Paladin de XVIII^{me} Siècle," "Le Prince Charles de Nassau-Siegen," par le Marquis d'Aragon.)

haste to fight that Jones reluctantly consented to move three versts farther toward Otchakov, and to permit Nassau to begin the attack with his flotilla. Accordingly, on the 7th of June, at one o'clock in the morning, Nassau advanced with most of the flotilla, but at the very first sight of the advanced guard of the enemy's fleet he retired without offering the smallest resistance, chased ignominiously into the midst of Jones's squadron.

This precipitate flight so encouraged the Turks that the next morning their whole squadron of twenty-one sailing-ships, with fifty-seven gun-boats which the Capitan Pasha had detached from the outlying fleet, advanced down the channel with so threatening a display that Alexiano, who had supported Nassau in his wish for an immediate attack, ran half-clad on deck in uncontrollable panic. The Turks, however, only drew up their force in battle-array and did not begin the attack. Nassau now thought it prudent to leave the command of his flotilla and to come on board the *Wolodimer*, to the protection of his "dear general." Jones at once proposed that they should reconnoitre the enemy's forces, and embarked with Nassau in a small boat. As they advanced the Turks began a brisk fire on the right Russian wing, supported at the same time by a detachment of troops from the shore. Nassau now proposed to place the right wing in a defensive position, but Jones insisted that the anchors should be instantly raised and a line of battle formed to meet the enemy. Nassau then retired to the protection of the squadron, and Jones, taking command, hastened along the line in his

small boat, bringing up the reserve and the left wing of the flotilla through the squadron, forming an oblique line, so as to cut off the Turkish retreat and to gall the enemy with a cross-fire. As soon as the Capitan Pasha perceived this manœuvre, he sailed up in his fast *kir-langvitch*, bringing up the second division of his flotilla against the wavering right Russian wing. Nassau, from his safe position, ordered his second in command, Brigadier Kortsakoff, to make it fall back, when Jones went after him and persuaded him to enter again the small boat, when he hastened to the left wing of the flotilla, where he conducted so effective a fight upon the Turks that they immediately fell into confusion. The Russian right wing, now assisted by the reserve which Jones had brought up, stood firm, and the Capitan Pasha, caught in the trap which Jones had devised, fled precipitately with his flotilla to the protection of his squadron.

The credit of this victory, due entirely to Jones's excellent disposition of the fleet, and more to his personal direction of the flotilla which Nassau had wholly given over to him, was claimed by and accorded to Nassau, as the affair had been conducted entirely between the two flotillas, neither the Russian nor Turkish squadrons being able to navigate the waters. Jones states that Nassau gave no order whatsoever during the entire engagement. Nassau triumphantly reported this victory to the Empress and Potemkin, but permitted Jones to add, in his own letter to Potemkin, that he had accepted Jones's advice, and in his report to the admiralty admitted that he had been assisted by both Jones and Alexiano. To his princess he wrote that he had regarded

her portrait during the battle, to give him courage, and that the flotilla "under his command" had beaten the Turks. Potemkin's report to the Empress states that Jones, Alexiano, and all the staff-officers had acted courageously, but that "Nassau had distinguished himself as a hero and in justice this victory belongs to him." He wrote also to Jones to thank him for assisting Nassau, and as the result of his representations the thanks of the Empress and the Order of Sainte-Anne were bestowed upon Jones.

Although Nassau had overwhelmed him with embraces and thanks for assisting him to claim what was in fact the first victory of his life, his elastic imagination soon lost all recollection of Jones's services, and, elated with what he now assumed was his own sole accomplishment, he again disregarded Jones's advice and Potemkin's superior orders and urged an immediate advance upon Otchakov. Jones strongly opposed this, and in so doing brought upon himself the reproach of dilatoriness and lack of courage. In the position where he found himself, in waters where his ships might run aground at any moment, under orders to await the troops of Potemkin and to continue the protection of both Kherson and Kinburn, his decision was not the least proof of his wisdom as an officer and his character as a man. Nassau was devoid of military skill, and as unable to understand Jones's motives as he was unwilling to admit that his direction of the first engagement with the enemy had been the sole cause of its success. Potemkin, who was entirely ignorant of the shameless cowardice and untruthfulness of his be-

loved Nassau, actually reversed his orders to await the arrival of the troops, at Nassau's desire.

The Prince Potemkin altered his mind very quickly, as is proved by the following extract from a letter of Jones to the Chevalier Ribas:¹

Wolodimer, June 14.

The Prince Potemkin has approved of my conduct in not consenting to put the fate of the campaign and perhaps of the war on the chance of winning an unequal naval combat, before the arrival of his army to protect our right wing. It would be a great pleasure to report that the Prince of Nassau is actually in the same humour he was in before your departure, but he has the air of wishing to send me to the devil, for no other reason that I know, except that I loyally extricated him from his confusion and danger in the affair of the 7th for which he has got all the credit. I am in a most difficult situation, and can in no wise count on a man who blows out at any instant, but I will do my best to adapt myself to his humour.

General Suvaroff has sent an officer to tell us that the batteries constructed on the point of Kinburn are *disapproved by the Prince Potemkin*, and that he has ordered them destroyed. If they had been established before, the Turks would never have been able to get their big bomb vessels and frigates into the Liman. I hope that these batteries may still be useful in preventing the enemy from getting in more of their ships. Please explain this to the Prince.

Jones's opinion so far prevailed that they remained where they were until the 16th of June, when, as Jones had anticipated, the Capitan Pasha, having rein-

¹ "Pièces justificatives."

forced his crews with some two thousand picked men from his outlying fleet, again sailed down the channel until he was within two versts of the Russians. He set the course of his flag-ship straight for the *Wolodimer*, when it suddenly ran aground on the shoal off the middle of the Kinburn promontory, and the advance of the Turkish fleet was immediately stopped. While with feverish haste the Turks labored to float their admiral's ship, Jones, seeing his opportunity, called a council of war on board the *Wolodimer*, and in a ringing speech appealed to his officers, who by this time had grown to know and love their commander, to summon all their courage, as now they must "conquer or die."

A contrary wind preventing the advance of the squadron, it was decided to draw up their forces in an obtuse angle as before, by bringing forward the right of the line up to the centre. This movement was completed by midnight of the 18th, when the wind very fortunately changed to the N.N.E., and at daybreak Jones gave the signal to advance. He was several times compelled to arrest the course of his squadron to give time for Nassau's laggard flotilla to join him, for near fighting was in prospect, and the erstwhile impetuous prince preferred to keep out of harm's way. The Turkish squadron, at sight of the Russian advance, instantly fell into confusion, and two more ships ran aground. The Capitan Pasha's ship, which during the night had been got off the shoals, was the object of Jones's attack, and the *Wolodimer* was within pistol-shot of the prize, when Jones perceived that it had again run aground. At this moment the way of his own

ship was stopped, Alexiano in Russian having given the order to cast anchor. The Capitan Pasha, thus saved from certain capture, abandoned his stranded ship, and, embarking in his *kirlangvitch*, which sailed like the wind, dashed to the extreme right wing of his flotilla, which was stationed safely in shallow water, where Jones's ships could not follow. The Turkish flotilla was furnished with large guns carrying farther than those of the Russian squadron, which, unable to come to close quarters with the enemy, and subjected to a furious cannonade, was in the very greatest danger. The *Little Alexander*, which lay just next the *Wolodimer*, was promptly destroyed by a bomb, and the fortune of the day hung in the balance. Jones despatched an urgent message to Nassau to come up with his flotilla, which was alone able to get within range of the enemy, but no answer was paid to his summons. Jones, then in the midst of the two fleets in action, took to his boat and went himself in search of Nassau. He found him in the extreme rear of the left wing of the flotilla, behind his floating batteries. From this position he refused to stir, but his second in command, Brigadier Kortsakoff, finally consented to come to Jones's assistance, and after a sharp fight succeeded in driving off the Turkish flotilla. The entire Turkish fleet now began to retreat in the greatest confusion to the protection of the Otchakov forts.

As soon as he saw that all unnecessary danger was over, Nassau emerged from behind his batteries and wantonly set fire to the two Turkish vessels, which lay helplessly aground, by means of a kind of bomb called a

“brandcougles,” which was fired from a safe distance.¹ The unfortunate crews all perished in the flames. Jones naturally regarded this barbaric proceeding with horror, and was likewise indignant that the ships, which would have been an invaluable addition to his inferior force, should have thus been needlessly sacrificed. The flag of the Capitan Pasha, shot from its staff, had fallen into the water and was rescued by two sailors who brought it to Nassau’s ship, where Jones happened to be, and was literally snatched from Jones’s hands by Nassau, who claimed it as the prize of his personal valor.

The entire Turkish force being in full flight, Jones desired to finish its destruction, but Nassau refused to permit the flotilla to advance. Jones then anchored his squadron in a line across the mouth of the Liman, with the intent of preventing the escape of the Turks. The flotilla finally came up and took its former position in the rear of the squadron. The two fleets were thus drawn up in parallel lines, the Turks ranged under the walls of Otchakov, the Russians facing them. Jones now decided to hold this position and await another attack. In order to reconnoitre the depth of the water, just at nightfall, he embarked in a small boat, with a few Cossack seamen from Nassau’s flotilla, and rowing

¹ These bombs were invented by a French officer, M. Prevôt, whom the Count de Segur had sent to the assistance of Nassau.

“His intelligence,” writes Segur, “contributed not a little to the success of Nassau. He made for him fuses filled with a sort of gregorian fire, liquid and inextinguishable. These fuses were pierced with several holes stopped with wax, and were supplied with sharp iron hooks. When fired against an opposing vessel, they stuck fast and spilled their contents over the whole ship, in torrents of flame which nothing could put out.”

under the shadow of the Turkish frigates, before the very guns of Otchakov, he took soundings all along the line, counted the Turkish forces, and, in perfect safety, returned to the *Wolodimer*.

A story probably founded on this expedition was related sixty years afterward by one of the Cossacks who accompanied Jones, and, although inaccurate in some details, gives a very vivid impression of Jones's personality and manner with his seamen.¹

¹In the "Biblioteka dlia Tchtenia," published in 1844, there is an article contributed by Captain K., giving the story of the old Cossack Ivak, who was attached to Jones's personal service in the Otchakov campaign. Captain K. relates that in his travels along the lower Danube he came across a Cossack settlement and found an old man in a little clay hut who spoke of Catherine's victories over the Turks, and among other things showed him a dirk with the inscription, "From Pavel Jones to his friend Cossack Ivak." Ivak's story is as follows:

"Two men arrived on board our vessel with an order from Nassau that we should receive them with the honors due to senior officers, and particularly one of them.

"What is his name?" we asked the guide.

"Pavel' (Paul).

"How are we to address him?"

"His rank is not that of a Brigadier but it is a high one. Call him Pavel."

"Pavel was dressed the same as all, only his weapons were better. He looked very stately and courageous, with some grey hair but still very strong, and one could at once see that he knew his business well. As soon as he stepped into the vessel he started turning everything his own way, examined the sails, the guns, the war ammunition, and all this through his interpreter who seemed to be good only for translating. After that he pulled a little boat on board, fixed a little rudder to it, selected a pair of good oars, and after twisting some rags around them and making various other little preparations, sat down to rest. In the meantime it grew dark, supper was served and Pavel seated himself with us around the pot. He ate and made jokes through his interpreter, just as if he were one of us. After supper he gave us a double ration of brandy; we got to be quite gay and started singing, but the tune turned out to be a very sad one. Man seems to be created very strangely; although he seems to feel gay yet his heart is sore as if with presentiment of some evil. Our Pavel listened very attentively as if trying to understand the sense of the song, yet it was as if clouds were passing

The extraordinary hardihood of this exploit closed a day where he had for hours threaded his way among the belching guns of the fleets, bringing up the lagging flotilla, and directing in the only way possible, in his tiny and unprotected boat, his skilful manœuvres over a greatly superior force. In the morning it was seen that the Capitan Pasha had attempted to regain the fleet without the Liman, with disastrous results. The

over his face, and although he tried hard to conceal it I was not the only one to perceive a tear in his eye. Well, it is no shame to shed a tear when in a foreign land.

“‘It is time,’ said Pavel, jumping up all of a sudden.

“He pulled out a well filled purse, and giving it to the senior man for the crew ordered him to say that for a long time he had not felt so happy as among us. Then he examined us as if he wished to pierce through us. Again he approached me, and said ‘March, March, you say; well, let us march.’ I thought for a moment and then just made a sign of the cross and stepped into the little boat. He took the rudder and I the oar. We remained silent all the time, both because we did not wish the enemy to hear us for we were going straight towards them, and because my companion as I learnt later only knew one word of our language, and I did not even know that of his. Our boat floated on zigzag, governed by the rudder and the oars like a tricky little fish. The lights of our ships got to be scarcely seen in the distance, and then disappeared altogether. Suddenly Pavel stopped the boat, looked round, stretched his neck to one side, shutting his eyes, was all attention, like a horse from the steppes which has heard the crispling of dry grass under the steps of a wild beast. Then he turned the rudder sharply, intending as it seemed to me to whisk into the sea weed, but I also could distinguish the sound of oars not far off. I was about to propose to him to return, but he just waved his hand, slackened speed and went on as if nothing had happened, although there appeared to be two boats behind us which were evidently intending to cut off our return. With every stroke of twelve oars the enemy’s boats were coming nearer and nearer, and we always lessening speed to wait for their approach. Yet each time I looked at Pavel he only said ‘forward,’ and kept moving towards the enemy’s seventy gun ship. [This statement of the Cossack would indicate that Jones not only reconnoitred the Turkish fleet in the Liman, but went outside to the larger war-ships anchored in the Beresan roads.—AUTHOR.]

“‘The Devil,’ thought I. ‘Is it not a traitor doing his dirty deed with my assistance?’ And I eyed him suspiciously, but he gave me back

admirable strategy of Jones's disposition of the Russian forces so as to cut off the escape of the enemy by blocking the mouth of the Liman, combined with his no less admirable suggestion of erecting batteries on Kinburn point, brought about exactly the results which he had foreseen. In attempting to avoid the continuous fire of the Kinburn batteries on the one side and the Russian ships on the other, nine of the Turkish vessels ran aground, a few only succeeded in making their escape from the Liman; the others retreated again to the protection of Otchakov. Suvaroff, hav-

such an open brave look, and there was so much command in his gestures, that I felt ashamed of my thoughts. The boats approached us till we could hear the sounds of a voice which called out to us. They were Turkish Cossacks, and Pavel made a sign to me to answer them as I had been before instructed through his interpreter. The Cossacks took us for their own people and asked for vodka. Pavel threw them over the bottle.

“I suppose you are going with an order to the Ayan?” asked the Cossack steersman.

“No, we are bringing salt to the Captain's ship,” I answered.

“But do you know the countersign?”

“How could we know it, we come from the island.”

“The Turks might send some bullets through you.”

“Well, tell it to us if you know it.”

“The devil only knows how it goes—something very difficult.”

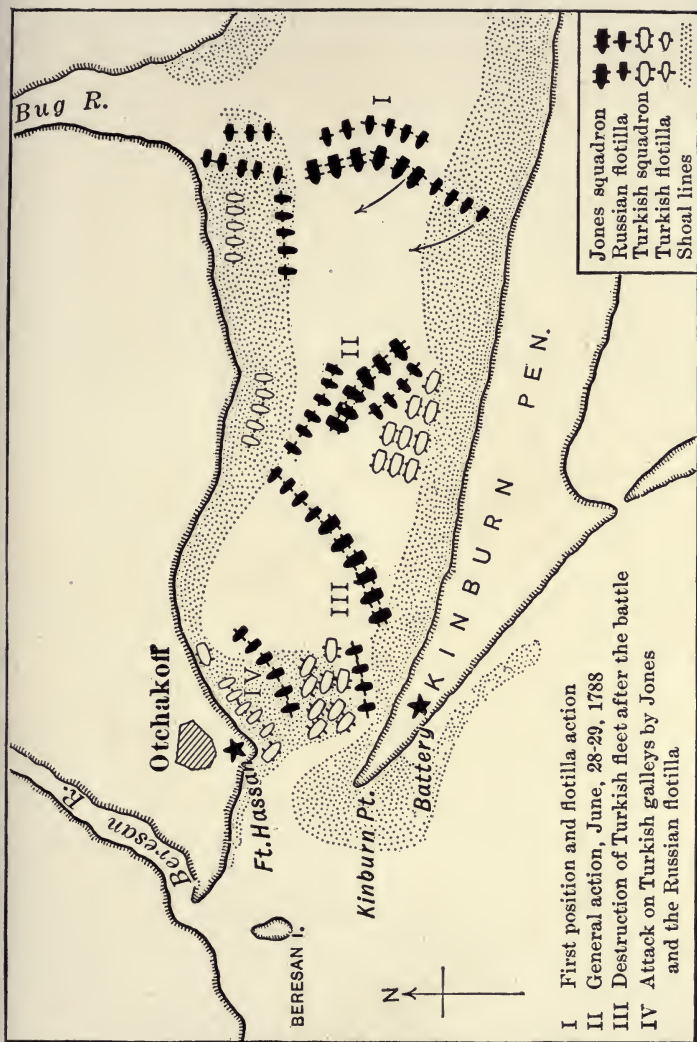
“Ask Ivan, the learned, that is his business.” And he told it us.

“That was all Pavel wanted, but he sat all the time looking quite unconcerned, as if he did not care a rap. Never in all my life have I seen a man such as he was. When he liked he was like honey, and when necessary like stone. How did I entrust myself to such a man? Somehow I believed in him, as if it were the commander's voice. Evidently there are people created to command.

“We soon reached the enemy's fleet, it looked like an entire town as it lay anchored, a whole forest of masts. We were asked for the countersign and Pavel gave it. We kept moving among the ships like a sea gull. Some threatened us, others let us go—we passed silently in some places, we passed crawling, in others boldly. When we got out of the range of the enemy's fire, we took the rags off the oars and went as quietly as we could to Nassau, with a report. Not one of the turks suspected us.”

ing personally commanded the batteries during the night, signalled to Jones in the morning to come and take possession of the stranded ships, but, warned by Alexiano that the current was too strong for his sailing-ship, and the waters too shallow, Jones very reluctantly was forced to turn over the duty to the flotilla. The gun-boats soon came within range, opening at once a furious fire upon the stranded ships which in their utterly helpless situation might easily have been captured. The Turks immediately struck their flags, but the Russians still kept up their fire, and, as they realized on their nearer approach that the enemy was at their mercy, again threw in the deadly brandcougles, setting fire to the ships. In plain sight of their ruthless executioners, the wretched victims knelt on the decks of their burning vessels crying for mercy, and even making the sign of the cross, in the vain hope of touching the hearts of their destroyers. Seven ships and corvettes were destroyed with all their crews, amounting to over three thousand men.

Nassau and Alexiano, who had commanded this barbaric and utterly inexcusable holocaust, witnessed the sight from a safe distance, and Nassau wrote in exultation to his wife of the "beautiful entertainment" he had enjoyed. Although taking care not to expose himself to personal danger, Nassau was so determined upon this general destruction that against Jones's earnest protest he despatched the whole of his flotilla upon the fatal errand, leaving the squadron again at the mercy of the long-range guns of the Turkish flotilla, which lay in the shallows near Otchakov. A furious altercation arose



- I First position and flotilla action
- II General action, June, 28-29, 1788
- III Destruction of Turkish fleet after the battle
- IV Attack on Turkish galleys by Jones and the Russian flotilla

Jones squadron
 Russian flotilla
 Turkish squadron
 Turkish flotilla
 Shoal lines

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ENGAGEMENT OF THE SQUADRON UNDER JONES'S COMMAND WITH THE TURKISH FLEET AT OTCHAKOFF.

between Nassau and Jones on the latter's visit to Nassau's *chaloupe*, Nassau assuming great credit for burning the grounded and helpless ships, declaring that he knew better how to take ships than Jones, and openly threatening to write to the Empress and Potemkin. Considering Jones's indignation at the wanton destruction of the Turkish prizes, it is not surprising that in the despatches which he sent that day to Potemkin and the admiralty he should have alluded to his differences of opinion with Nassau. His report to the admiralty also contained an account of the engagement, which differed so materially from the highly colored story of Nassau that it was immediately suppressed, and Potemkin gave orders to Jones to make no more except to himself. Nassau's absurd statement that he had burned six and taken two ships of the line passed without question, in spite of the fact that all of the Turkish ships of the line lay unharmed without Otchakov, not one of them being capable of entering the Liman. The vessels which Nassau burnt were all merchant-ships, the largest not more than one hundred and thirty-five feet in length, by Jones's own measurements.

In a country which, according to a French writer, was "governed by appearances," this congenial exaggeration was not liable to criticism. Potemkin was so delighted with these victories, which proved, as he declared, that he was "l'enfant gâté de Dieu," that he was most anxious to restore harmony between the two commanders, and on the 28th June made a visit to the *Wolodimer*, attended by all his staff officers. To cele-

brate the general satisfaction over the auspicious opening of the campaign, the company remained to dinner. The Chevalier Littlepage, who had so warmly urged Jones to enter the Russian service, was also present with the Prince de Ligne, Nassau's friend, and Nassau himself, still claiming, and permitted most generously by Jones to retain, the whole credit of his accomplishments. At Potemkin's request, Littlepage and the Prince de Ligne persuaded Nassau to make apologies to Jones, which Jones, always forgiving and anxious for the good of the service, accepted with perfect good faith, and the two commanders embraced in the presence of the company.

Potemkin now issued orders, as his troops had passed over the Bog, that Nassau should advance with his flotilla to destroy the remainder of the Turkish fleet in the Liman, and requested Jones to render him all the assistance in his power. Nassau's apologies were no more sincere than his embraces, as Jones was immediately to find, for, having borrowed a transport from Nassau's flotilla, to recover, according to Potemkin's directions, the guns and anchors of the burned Turkish vessels, Jones was furiously reproached by Nassau with interfering with his property, and Potemkin himself, forgetting that he had issued the same orders to one of Alexiano's lieutenants, first caused Jones to be sharply reprimanded by Ribas and then admitted his injustice and his mistake.

Undismayed by this exhibition of jealousy and incapacity on the part of his associate and his general, Jones, with admirable loyalty, prepared to assist the

ungrateful Nassau in the projected attack upon the Turkish fleet, which was finally made on the morning of the 1st of July. As it was impossible to employ the ships of his squadron, Jones manned all his small boats and towed the flotilla within range of Otchakov. After placing the floating batteries in an advantageous position, Jones, with a detachment of small boats, steered straight for five Turkish galleys which lay under the Otchakov guns. In spite of a raking fire, he dashed at the nearest galley and, after a hand-to-hand fight, boarded and took it. The Capitan Pasha's own galley, which lay next, still nearer the Otchakov walls, was then taken after a still harder fight, but this prize, unskillfully set afloat by a lieutenant and drifting toward shore, ran aground under the very guns of Fort Hassan. Determined to save this coveted prize, Jones ordered it lightened by throwing everything movable overboard, and meanwhile sent a lieutenant back to the *Wolodimer* for a kedge and line to warp it into the channel. While waiting for the return of the lieutenant, he again manned his boats and brought up a part of the flotilla ostensibly commanded by Nassau, who refused himself to take any part whatever in the engagement.

When Jones's messenger at last returned with the cable, and the galley of the Capitan Pasha was on the point of being extricated from the sand-bank, Jones saw, to his intense disgust, that it had been set on fire as well as the one which he had captured by boarding. Alexiano, determined as before to deprive Jones of the fruits of his valor, had deliberately sent a Greek to set fire to his prizes. The three other galleys

which had been captured by the gun-boats which Jones had brought up were likewise destroyed under orders from Nassau by the use of the brandcougles, with every soul on board. Only fifty-two prisoners, whom Jones had brought off in his boats from the two galleys he had taken, escaped with their lives. The part of Nassau's flotilla which had not been detached and brought into action by Jones himself remained inactive, and by Nassau's orders retreated out of the range of the enemy's guns.

Nassau's services in the active campaign which was terminated by the attack of the 1st July, had begun by his instant retreat at his first sight of the enemy on the morning of the 7th June, and had consisted solely in the useless burning of nine grounded ships and the five galleys which were actually Jones's prizes. The disablement and defeat of the Turkish fleet in the Liman was credited from the beginning to the end to Nassau. But it was Jones, and Jones only, who had actually succeeded in beating the Turks, and who, by professional skill and prodigies of personal valor, had accomplished a wellnigh desperate task. The ships under his command, warily manœuvred over every inch of their way, were disposed with the genius of a great general officer, and the flotilla of his cowardly and treacherous rival brought into action by a brilliant exhibition of gallantry and characteristic resourcefulness. The destruction of the nine Turkish ships in the engagements of June 17-18, as Jones distinctly states in his journal, was brought about by his disposition of his squadron so as to block up the mouth

of the Liman, and by the erection of the Kinburn batteries, also his suggestion. Nassau's burning of the prizes was accomplished by the use of the brandcougles at a safe distance, yet he was permitted to claim the whole credit of having personally conducted a brilliant victory. His peculiar method of making war without running any personal danger did not pass without notice, as is proved by a comment in the "Survey of the Turkish Empire," written by Eton, who, as an Englishman, must be credited with no partiality toward Jones:

It is a difficult thing at all times to discover truth amidst the misrepresentations of courts and ministers of commanders. Should any one write, for instance, the history of the last war between Russia and Turkey he would take for his guide in relating the first event the siege of Otchakoff, the accounts published by the Court of St. Petersburg and the reports of the commanders: there he would find a brilliant victory gained by Prince Nassau over the Turkish fleet in the Liman, but if he could get a report made by Paul Jones to the Admiralty of Cherson signed by all the commanders of the fleet, he would find that no engagement took place, except a distant cannonade; that the Turkish ships ran aground by their ignorance and bad manœuvres, and that Nassau with his flotilla, instead of taking possession of them set them on fire; this journal which I have read and taken an extract from, was forbidden by Prince Potemkin to be sent to St. Petersburg and the whole campaign as it stands on record is nearly a romance.

Although realizing afterward that the attack of the 1st of July, which he had expected would complete the destruction of the enemy's fleet, had been a failure,

Potemkin welcomed Nassau and Alexiano, who had hurried off after the battle under a pouring rain to report how many ships they had burnt, and overwhelmed them with praise. A shower of rewards now descended from the generous hand of the delighted Catherine. Potemkin received a sword studded with emeralds and diamonds, Nassau was given another enriched with diamonds, as well as valuable lands in White Russia, with thousands of serfs, the military order of Saint George, and the promise of his rear-admiral's flag as soon as Otchakov should be taken. Alexiano was also rewarded with lands and an advance of two grades, but did not live to enjoy his good fortune, as he died from a malignant fever which developed from his exposure on the day after he received his promotion. Jones received no reward beyond the Order of Sainte-Anne for his services on the 7th of June. He professed that he would have been entirely satisfied with this decoration if the services of others had been equally requited. The officers of his squadron, all naval men, received no recognition whatever, while the twenty-four gold swords sent by the Empress for distribution were all given by Potemkin to the soldiers who had been temporarily placed on Nassau's flotilla. Jones was characteristically bitterly chagrined at this unjust discrimination, but to his credit persuaded his officers who were ready to resign their commissions to continue in the service.

The Chevalier Littlepage, now given a command in Jones's squadron, had early in the campaign appealed to Jones to keep his temper and to maintain at least

ostensible good relations with Nassau. "The Prince Potemkin has conceived a high esteem for you," he wrote, "but he loves Nassau. If ever mutual interest dictated union between two persons it is between you and the Prince of Nassau, at the present moment. The reverse will be to the prejudice of both; in the name of friendship reflect upon this." This advice had been by no means lost upon Jones, for he declared to Littlepage that he had "put up with more from Nassau than under the circumstances he could have done for any man who is not crazy. I can no more reckon on his humour than on the wind; one hour he embraces me as his best friend, the next he is ready to cut my throat."

That Jones had in reality endeavored, to the best of his ability, to conciliate Nassau is shown by the following letter, the 17th of the "Pièces Justificatives," attached to his journal of the campaign:

Wolodimer, le 14th June, 1788.

MY PRINCE,

Dare I ask you the reason of your dissatisfaction? No one has a more grateful heart than myself, and I know how well you have always wished me, and how much you have interested yourself in my behalf, with the Prince Potemkin, (a kindness very precious to me as I did not request it). I shall be in despair if I have given you reason for dissatisfaction. I assure you that I have never intended to cause you any, or give you the slightest annoyance.

I believed that I had proved my attachment by my conduct in our battle with the Turks, and were contented with it yourself, when you embraced me and said that "we should always be one." It was your

heart which spoke then. You were gracious enough to send me the letter you had written to Prince Potemkin, after the engagement, and you seemed content with mine. The least word from you would have made me suppress it; I should have preferred to keep silence, and on other occasions I shall be careful to do so. As we are to have the happiness of serving under the eyes of the Prince Potemkin, we will gain more honor and give him more pleasure if we live together in harmony. This only rests with you, for I have every disposition that you could wish to render justice to your merit and to act in concert with you for the good of Russia. One can be in the wrong, perhaps, without intending it.

Whatever part you prefer, my prince, your success in this war will always afford me true pleasure. I simply add, that the letters you have done me the honor to transmit to Warsaw, contain my true sentiments regarding you.

With a great desire to value and cultivate your greatly esteemed friendship, I have the honor to be, and so forth.

Potemkin had lately come to conclusions of his own in regard to his former favorite, and sent Nassau off to Sevastopol on the pretext of finding out the condition of the Russian fleet, which had had an ineffectual engagement with the Admiral Pasha, who had departed thither with a portion of his great fleet, after the arrival of Potemkin's troops on the 28th of June. As soon as Nassau had gone, Potemkin gave the command of the flotilla to Ribas, who, finding it in the greatest disorder, took some time to bring it into proper discipline. Ribas, who had not failed to comprehend Jones's capacity at the outset, was so anxious for him to be given

the command of the flotilla that Potemkin, yielding to his recommendations, fairly offered it to Jones, but on the return of Nassau the influence of the Prince de Ligne so prevailed that he gave back the command to Nassau.

Potemkin had by this time moved his head-quarters to the camp before Otchakov, where he held court and established a harem, of which his two nieces were the principal favorites. He now lost interest in the campaign and left Otchakov quietly alone. In long hours spent in his dressing-gown and slippers, he would alternately give himself to the society of his nieces or stand at his window surveying the opposing fleets, which floated idly in the summer waters of the Liman.

Wishing for some excitement to divert his nieces, one day, toward the end of July, he picked out two Turkish gun-boats lying directly under the walls of Fort Hassan, and summoning Jones asked if it were possible to capture them. Jones promptly consented to undertake the dangerous service. One gun-boat being aground and under a smashing fire from the fort, Jones failed to dislodge it; the other he captured, with his men falling about him, and placed it directly opposite Potemkin's head-quarters.

On the 20th of July, Potemkin, doubtless pleased with this exploit, gave Jones twenty-five of Nassau's gun-boats, and issued orders that Jones, and not Nassau, should conduct the final attack against Otchakov as soon as the land batteries should begin to play upon the place. At last Jones had command of vessels which he could manœuvre, and an opportunity of showing differ-

ent tactics from those of Nassau. With renewed hope and enthusiasm he began to train the officers and crews of the gun-boats for the approaching assault, but definite orders never came from the head-quarters of Potemkin, who, as if touched by an enchanter's wand, was incapable of any pretence of generalship. Although a second conditional order to attack the stronghold was issued a fortnight later, he soon after gave other orders to Jones to cut off the enemy's communications with Otchakov by establishing a blockade between that point and the island of Beresan. Accordingly Jones took his whole force to the outer roads, but on the return of the Capitan Pasha, with his great fleet, on the 31st of July, he ordered Jones to remove his force to the entrance of the Liman, and sent Nassau with his portion of the gun-boats to maintain the blockade in the outer roads of Beresan. Nassau now declared that if given the opportunity he would with his gun-boats make a breach in the Otchakov walls, to which boast Potemkin replied with a question as to the size of the breach he had made in the fortifications of Gibraltar. Nassau's gun-boats, however, were returned to him, and he conducted two more ridiculously ineffectual attacks upon Otchakov, at a safe distance, as usual, and wasted so much ammunition that Potemkin in final disgust sent him off in disgrace to St. Petersburg.

The blockade which Nassau was supposed to have maintained in the Beresan Roads had been necessarily broken by the withdrawal of his flotilla for these futile attacks upon Otchakov, and many Turkish ships were enabled to get in with supplies and reinforcements to

the beleaguered stronghold. Beyond one exceedingly ill-conducted assault, by which he threw away twenty thousand men, and another rash expedition with a handful of officers, in which the Prince de Ligne had a horse killed under him, Potemkin did nothing toward the capture of Otchakov, and was said to be engaged in an attempt to bribe the garrison to surrender. Jones, meanwhile, awaiting impatiently his definite orders to attack the place, asked in vain for the return of the gun-boats. In September tentative proposals were made for Jones to make a junction with the Sevastopol fleet, which were likewise left in abeyance, as well as Potemkin's suggestion, owing to Admiral Woinowitch's reluctance to engage the enemy, that he might place Jones in the command of the fleet. The situation remained absolutely unchanged throughout the entire summer, except that the enemy, with increasing impunity, got in more and more vessels with provisions for Otchakov. Rumors of the grave displeasure of the Empress began to be bruited about the camp of the dilatory Potemkin. Nassau, in St. Petersburg, had not failed to criticise the methods of his once adored general, and the Prince de Ligne added fuel to the flame by the relation of many mistakes of which he was the witness and in one case the endangered participant. Potemkin was by no means inclined to be lenient, however, to the failures of others, upon whom he vented the dissatisfaction due to his own incapacity. On the 8th of October a part of the flotilla was stationed near Kinburn, Jones, with his squadron, being nearer to Otchakov, when three Turkish trans-

ports, taking advantage of a favoring wind, got past the flotilla, which made no attempt to prevent them. Jones sent some ships in pursuit, but failed to overhaul them, for the obvious reason that the wind, which was favoring the Turks, was exactly contrary for them. Potemkin, holding Jones wholly responsible for the escape of the transports, wrote a stinging reproof, requiring an explanation, to which Jones replied with a statement as to the contrary wind which had retarded his pursuit, and promised to capture them the next night.

On visiting the prince's head-quarters the next day, to explain this mischance, and again to request the return of the gun-boats so that he might deliver the long-contemplated final attack upon Otchakov, Potemkin, who was, as usual, conducting operations from his window, decided, before returning the gun-boats, to put his courage once more to the test. He pointed out a gun on the prow of a grounded Turkish gun-boat, which he said was the last of the line, and informed Jones that he had the strongest possible desire to see it pitched overboard. Willing to gratify the prince's caprice, Jones sent a lieutenant to execute this service, who not only failed to perform, it but delayed to bring back Potemkin's acceptance of Jones's offer to do it himself until midnight. The night was pitch-dark, wind and tide both against him, and rain pouring in torrents, but he set out with some canoes and rowed hard until daybreak without reaching the ship. He retired then to avoid needless alarm, meaning to succeed the next night, when his orders were revoked by Potem-

kin. He then learned that Potemkin had designated not this ship but another, at the other end of the line, which was soon afterward run down and burnt by some Cossacks. History holds no parallel to this form of generalship, or to the sacrifice which was thus accomplished of a military genius such as Paul Jones. Bitterly mortified by his failure to perform this trivial service, due only to lack of time, Jones now became involved in an actual conflict with Potemkin in regard to the blockades of the Beresan Roads and the Liman, concerning which the prince again issued contradictory orders.

On the 13th of October he sent Jones the following order:

As it is seen that the Capitan Pasha comes in his kirlangvitch from the grand fleet to the smaller vessels, and as before quitting this he may resolve to attempt something, I request your Excellency, the Capitan Pasha having actually a greater number of vessels, to hold yourself in readiness to receive him courageously and drive him back. I require that this be done without loss of time, if not you will be made answerable for every neglect. I have already ordered the flotilla to approach.¹

Unrewarded and uncredited for his brilliant and effectual services, smarting under his failure to please the capricious tyrant who ordered him to risk his life in trivial services while he delayed to permit him to attack Otchakov, this insulting command to meet the enemy "courageously" exhausted the last remnant of

¹ To this order Jones affixed the following note: "A warrior is always ready, and I had not come to there an apprentice."

Jones's patience, and he wrote the prince a highly indiscreet letter, in which he affirmed that he had maintained an effectual blockade between Otchakov and the island of Beresan, and that he was personally not to be held responsible for the entry of the enemy's vessels, since he had been ordered to abandon it and return to the Liman. "At present," he wrote, "in case the Captain Pasha does resolve on attempting anything before his departure, I can give assurance beforehand that the brave officers and crews I have the honor to command will do their duty 'courageously,' though they have not been rewarded for the important services they have performed for the empire under my eyes. I answer with my honor to explain myself fairly on this delicate point at the end of the campaign. In the meantime, I merely say that it is upon the sacred promise I have given them of demanding justice of your highness in their behalf, that they have consented to stifle their grievances and keep silent." He added that as he was responsible for "negligence," his duty demanded that he should reclaim the officers, gunners, and seamen of the twenty gunboats no longer under his orders, which were essentially needed if he were to successfully meet the attack of the enemy.

Potemkin replied to this letter by ordering Jones, who had immediately removed his squadron to the outer roads, to return to the Liman until he should receive the desired reinforcements from the flotilla, when Jones demurred on the ground that this return would appear like a confession of weakness. "If I thought the movement indicative of fear," Potemkin rejoined, "I should

not have ordered it," and insisted that Jones should go back to the Liman. Jones again, and this time quite out of his head, replied that he would obey, but maintained that the movement was inadvisable, saying, "Every man is master of his own opinion, and this is mine."

It is still unwise to think independently in Russia, and at that time and under Potemkin it was professional suicide. Intimations instantly came from headquarters that Potemkin was determined to remove Jones from his command, and too late he realized the folly of defying his superior. Apologies, explanations, promises, flatteries, all of which he poured out in his appeal to Potemkin, were alike unavailing, and on the 18th Potemkin sent him an order in which he was desired by the "particular desire of the Empress" to depart for a new command in the northern seas.

Flattered by what he thought was a proof of Catherine's remembrance, Jones failed to realize at first that this promise of a new command was only a pretext to get rid of him, but on reflecting that the season was already too advanced for operations in the north, he so far stooped from his self-respect as to ask Potemkin to reverse the order, only to be informed by his secretary that the command of the Empress must be obeyed. Realizing that Potemkin was inexorable, the heart-broken man turned over his squadron to Mordwinoff, who had stipulated for *carte-blanche* and the undivided command of the squadron and flotilla ere he would consent to step into Jones's shoes.

One more opportunity was afforded Jones to soften

the heart of the prince, which, with less courage and more diplomacy, might still have been successful. He was invited to head-quarters to take leave, and, seeing first Potemkin's secretary, M. Popoff, he spoke so freely and convincingly that Potemkin at last was persuaded to see him. "Without failing in the respect due to him," Jones wrote in his journal, "I spoke to him freely enough; I told him he had played an unfair game at the opening of the campaign in dividing command in the Liman, and that if I had not resolved to sacrifice my own feelings in order to manage the persons he had given for colleagues the campaign would have taken a very different turn. He replied 'agreed, but it is too late now.' He then said he would be glad to see me fixed in Russia, and that he was disposed to give me solid proofs of his esteem both now and in future. I showed him the testimonials of the captain of the *Wolodimer* and some other papers,¹ to convince

¹ I certify the truth of the following circumstances. On the 17th of June the squadron of his Imperial majesty in the Liman, being posted in an obtuse angle with the flotilla in the interval, set sail at dawn to attack the Turks who were anchored about two verstes to the west, under the command of the Capitan Pasha. The imposing appearance of the squadron, which was advancing in line, so frightened the Turks that they fled in the greatest confusion, and their fleet never took any defensive or military position. The squadron of her imperial majesty was obliged to stop twice to wait for our flotilla which was very slow in advancing. The squadron began to fire, and two of the largest of the enemies ships went aground on the sand banks before our flotilla had raised anchor. The Turks had posted their flotilla, which carried mortars and large pieces of artillery, on the shallows near Otchakoff, under the personal direction of Capitan Pasha. This flotilla attacked our squadron on the right wing, as we advanced, and sank one of our frigates, the *Little Alexander*. The Rear Admiral, Paul Jones, had ordered the *Wolodimer*, of which I am the captain, to steer for the vessel which carried the flag of the Capitan Pasha, but at the moment when this latter vessel ran aground, M. le Brigadier and Chevalier Alexiano sud-

him that he had neither done justice to me nor to my squadron. He said the Prince of Nassau had pretended all was done by himself, 'but I have never,' said he, 'been deceived in him, I have always known him for what he is.' He proposed that I should go to Tagenroc to equip and command a squadron he was building there, but as I had been brought to Russia to take the chief command in the Black Sea, and had received orders from the Empress to repair to St. Petersburg I declined the offer. I only entreated that he would consider the services of my officers, and give them the seniority they had lost by the promotions of those officers of the flotilla who did not belong to the naval service."

The proofs of Jones's actual responsibility for the only victories in the campaign, confirming, as they did, Potemkin's final opinion of Nassau, evidently produced some effect upon the always impressionable

denly directed me, in Russian, without the knowledge of M. the Rear Admiral, to cast the anchor of the *Wolodimer*. He pretended to believe that there were only fifteen feet of water ahead.

Another Turkish vessel had previously run aground on a sand bank to the left of our squadron, and instead of pursuing the flying Turks, the boats of the flotilla surrounded the two stranded vessel which were already in our power. M. the Rear Admiral ordered M. Alexiano to assemble some of the boats of the flotilla to come to the assistance of our right wing, and drive off the Turkish flotilla. M. the Rear Admiral also gave the same order the M. the Brigadier and Chevalier Corsakoff, and the enemy's flotilla was in consequence dislodged. M. the Rear Admiral made the *Wolodimer* advance a verste, and the squadron anchored in line just beyond the range of the cannon of Oethakoff.

M. ZEFALIANO, *Capitaine second rank*.

The original was written in Russian and signed in my presence by the captain of the *Wolodimer*, M. Zefaliano, on board the *Wolodimer* the 19th September, 1788.

PAUL DMITESFFSKY, *Honoraire du college des Affaires Étrangères et Secrétaire de S.E.M. Contre Amiral et Chevalier Paul Jones.*

Pièces justificatives.

mind of the tyrant, and it is fairly incomprehensible, without remembering the strong personal attachment of Jones to the Empress, that he should have refused Potemkin's offer in this critical interview. Powerful as he was capricious, a compliance with his desire that Jones should enter his personal service would unquestionably have been the means of re-establishing Jones's reputation. Jones's independence and his sturdy defence of his injured officers was sympathetic to Potemkin, who, according to Segur, was always courteous to those who maintained a self-respecting attitude in his presence. But Jones imprudently referred to his enemies, who he believed had influenced the prince against him, when Potemkin, in anger, arose, stamping his foot, and said: "Don't think that any one leads me —no one leads me, not even the Empress." It is remarkable, perhaps, that the ungovernable giant, who could strike the Empress and snatch Prince Dolgorouki from the floor and shake him into submission, should not have treated the fearless American officer to a greater show of violence. Potemkin was not enough of a general himself to appreciate Jones's talents or services, but his displeasure was so far modified as to induce him to consent to restore the seniority of his officers, and he gave Jones himself a letter to the Empress certifying to the "eagerness and zeal which the Rear Admiral Paul Jones has always shown in your majesty's service." The private comment which a few days before he had, in his anger, despatched to Catherine was unfortunately calculated to destroy its effect.¹

¹ "The sleepy Admiral Paul Jones has missed the transports to Otchakoff, and could not burn the ship which the Don Cossacks burnt. He

A week later Jones, embarking in an open galley, crossed the Liman and, after three days and nights of exposure to the cruel November cold, arrived at Kher-son, where pneumonia immediately developed, and he lay desperately ill for a month. On the very day, the 6th of December, when he was at last able to leave for St. Petersburg, Otchakov fell, ruthlessly burnt by Potemkin's soldiers, while thirty thousand of its help- less inhabitants were put to the sword. On the 28th of December Jones arrived in St. Petersburg, and three days later was received, not unkindly, by the Empress, who had maintained, in her reply to Potemkin's con- temptuous account of Jones, that he had certainly shared her belief in his courage and capacity, and that she would find a place for him. Admiral Grieg, in com- mand of the Cronstadt fleet, had just died, and there seemed some likelihood that Jones would ultimately be given some command in the northern seas. Catherine, however, was unwilling to take any action until the re- turn of Potemkin, but her minister of state, Besborodko, assured him that a more important command was in store for him than that of the Black Sea.

With renewed hope, Jones immediately set his al- ways inventive mind to work out new plans, which he confidently laid before the minister. He proposed a commercial alliance between Russia and America; a very well-conceived plan for cutting off the food supply of Constantinople by means of a small fleet of merchant-

was brave while he was a pirate, but he has never been at the head of many ships. No one consents to serve under him. Hence I have de- cided to send him to St. Petersburg under pretense of a special expe- dition to the North."—(October 18, Potemkin to Catherine II.)

men in the Mediterranean; another for attacking the British possessions in India; and still another for combined operations with America against the Algerines. To all of these schemes Besborodko and Potemkin, now returned to the capital, gave polite attention and sometimes encouraging counter-propositions. The dismissal of Mordwinoff, which soon followed his own, was a further balm to Jones's injured pride, in its evidence of the difficulty of pleasing Potemkin, and he believed that he was soon to be furnished with ample opportunities to redeem his reputation. The winter, however, passed by in ineffectual conferences, in which he probably exhausted, by his usual persistency, the very slight interest of Count Besborodko, and all promises of future services remained unfulfilled.

The Prince of Nassau had been sent to the north in command of an important force, and with very skilful English colleagues, to fight against the Swedes. He was very successful at first, owing entirely to the ability of his subordinates; but afterward, alone in command, was disgracefully beaten, with enormous loss, by an inferior force. Catherine, who was thereupon forced to make a disgraceful peace with Sweden, persisted in her protection of Nassau,¹ but his reputation so suffered by this final disclosure of his incapacity that he retired to permanent inaction to his estates in Poland.² Cath-

¹ "Be assured," wrote Catherine, "that I shall always render you justice. You have acted according to my orders, and as I shall submit to no revision as long as I reign by any soul that lives, no one else has anything to say. You are right, and you shall be right, because I find that you are."

² "Born with the 'coup d'œil' of a general, the Prince of Nassau has little knowledge and all details are unknown to him. With intelligent

erine was ultimately disgusted with Nassau's failures, and on his final departure from Russia wrote Grimm that "every one was pleased."

Although treated at first with a show of politeness, Jones's favor at court began sensibly to decline. The hostile influence of the English was again evident. The old story of Mungo Maxwell was revived, with the additional charge that the sailor he was supposed to have killed was his own nephew. Believing that the destruction of his reputation would be pleasing to the English ambassador, whose country now stood in the way of Catherine's schemes of conquest, Jones's enemies at court now hatched a vile scheme to drive him from St. Petersburg. This infamous conspiracy, which would have been entirely successful but for the interference and assistance of Count de Segur, is related in the following letter from Jones to Potemkin:

ST. PETERSBURG, *April 13, 1789.*

MY LORD:

Having had the advantage to serve under your orders and in your sight, I remember with particular satisfaction the kind promises and testimonials of your friendship with which you have honored me. As I have served all my life for honor I had no other motive for accepting the flattering invitations of her Imperial majesty than a laudable ambition to distinguish myself in the service of a sovereign so magnanimous and so illustrious: for I have never yet bent the knee to self

and devoted subordinates he is capable of winning success, but without such assistance he is doomed to disaster. He is duped by the first comer with the most deplorable ease, and the violence of his character disguised as it is under an indifferent manner, is so astonishing, his expressions so unrestrained, that no man of breeding or good feeling could sustain intimate relations with him."—(Unpublished memoirs of the Count de Langeron, French officer in the Russian army.)

interest, nor drawn my sword for hire. A few days ago I thought myself one of the happiest men in the empire. Your Highness had renewed to me your promise of friendship, and the Empress had assigned to me a command of a nature to occupy the most active and enterprising genius. A bad woman has accused me of violating her daughter! If she had told the truth, I should have candour enough to own it, and would trust my honor, which is a thousand times dearer to me than my life, to the mercy of the Empress. I declare with an assurance becoming a military character, that I am innocent. Till that unhappy moment I have enjoyed the public esteem and the affection of all who knew me. Shall it be said that in Russia a wretched woman who eloped from her husband and family in the country, stole away her daughter, lives here in a house of bad fame, and leads a debauched and adulterous life, has found credit enough on a simple complaint, unsupported by any proof, to affect the honour of a general officer of reputation, who has merited and received the decorations of America, of France and of this Empire? If I had been favored with the least intimation of a complaint of that nature having found its way to the sovereign, I know too well what belongs to delicacy to have presented myself in the presence of the Empress before my justification. My servant was kept prisoner by the officers of police for several hours, two days successively, and threatened with the knout. After the examination of my people before the police, I sent for and employed M. Crimpin as my advocate. As the mother had addressed him before to plead her cause, she naturally spoke to him without reserve, and he learned from her a number of important facts, among others that she was counselled and supported by a distinguished man of the Court. By the certificate of the father attested by the pastor of the colony, the daughter is several years older than is

expressed in the complaint. And the complaint contains various other points equally false and easy to be refuted. For instance, there is a conversation I am said to have held with the daughter in the Russian language, of which no person ever heard me pronounce two words together; it is unknown to me. I thought that in every country a man accused had a right to employ advocates, and to avail himself of his friends for his justification. Judge, my prince, of my astonishment and distress of mind when yesterday I was informed that the day before the governor of the city had sent for my advocate and forbidden him at his peril, or any other person, to meddle with my cause.

I am innocent before God! and my conscience knows no reproach. The complaint brought against me is an infamous one and there is no circumstance that gives it even an air of probability. I address myself to you with confidence, my prince, and am assured that the friendship you have so kindly promised me will be immediately exerted in my favor, and that you will not suffer the illustrious sovereign of this great empire to be misled by the false insinuations and secret cabals of my hidden enemies. Your mind will find more true pleasure in pleading the cause of an innocent man whom you honour with your friendship, than can result from other victories equally glorious with that of Otchakoff, which will always rank among the most brilliant of military achievements. If your Highness will condescend to question M. Crimpin (for he dare not now even speak to me), he can tell you many circumstances which will elucidate my innocence. I am, with profound respect, my lord, your Highness's devoted and most obedient servant.¹

¹ The following exculpatory documents were obtained by Jones and found among the collection of his MSS. brought to America by Miss Taylor:

"I certify that my wife, Frederica Sophia Koltzwarthen, has left me

Prince Potemkin, to whose greatness of heart Jones thus confidently appealed, raised no hand to help him. He had deeply injured him, and doubtless for that reason disliked him. Abandoned by every one, the courage which had so long supported Paul Jones nearly flickered out. Alone in his room, with his pistols before him, he was wishing and even contemplating the end, when Count de Segur knocked at his door. The narrative of the chivalrous and effectual services which he was able to render the deeply injured man is found in his "Memoirs":

Paul Jones, the companion of the victory of Prince Nassau, had come back to St. Petersburg, his enemies unable to bear the triumph of a man whom they considered a vagabond rebel and corsair, decided to destroy him. This villany which should be laid at the door of some envious cowards was in my opinion unjustly attributed to the English officers in the Russian Navy and to the English merchants in St. Petersburg. They did not, in truth, make any secret of their animosity towards Paul Jones, but it would be unfair to credit them with a base intrigue, which was probably the work of only one or two unknown persons.

The rear admiral, who was favorably received at court, often invited to dinner by the Empress, and received with distinction in the best society of the city, was suddenly forbidden by Catherine to present him-

without reason, that she has been living in the City with a young man, and that she has clandestinely and against my will taken away my daughter Catherine Charlotte who is now living with her.

"STEPHEN KOLTZWARTHEN. Saratowka. 7th April 1789."

"I certify that this is the free and voluntary declaration of Stephen Koltzwarthen and that it is he who has signed it.

"PASTOR BRAUN."

self at court. He learned that he was accused of an infamous crime, that of outraging a young girl of fourteen years and of having cruelly maltreated her. He was informed that he would probably be brought before the admiralty court and be judged by English officers who were strongly prejudiced against him. This order was scarcely announced when every one deserted the unhappy American; no one saluted or spoke to him, and all doors were closed. Those who had welcomed him with cordiality now fled from him as if he were plague smitten, and what was still worse, no advocate would consent to defend him, no public man would listen to him. Finally his servant left his service, and Paul Jones whose exploits had been on everyone's tongue, whose friendship was sought by all, found himself absolutely alone in the midst of a multitude of people, the great capital of St. Petersburg to him was a desert. I went to see him. He was affected to tears by my visit, and clasping my hand, declared that he had been unwilling to present himself at my door for fear of another refusal, which would have afflicted him more than all the others.

"I would have faced death a thousand times," he said, "but today I desire it." His appearance and the sight of his pistols which lay before him on a table, made me suspect his fatal intent.

"Resume your courage and composure," I said to him. "Do you not know that fortune is as changeable as the wind? If, as I hope, you are innocent, you must face this storm; if unfortunately you are guilty, speak openly to me and I will do my utmost to aid you by a sudden flight, to escape the danger which threatens you."

"I swear to you, on my honor," he replied, "that I am innocent, and the victim of the most infamous calumny. Here are the facts: A few mornings ago, a

young girl came to my rooms, asking if I could not give her some linen or laces to mend. She approached me with the most indecent and determined provocations. Astonished at such brazen behaviour in a child of that age I felt sorry for her, counselled her not to begin a vile career, gave her some money and dismissed her, but she refused to leave. Impatient at this resistance, I took her by the hand and put her out of the door, but the door was no sooner opened, than the little wretch tore her sleeves and her fichu, uttered loud cries, declaring that I had outraged her and cast herself into the arms of an old woman who had certainly not come there by chance. The mother and the girl aroused the house by their cries, departed and denounced me. You know all."

"Very good," I replied, "but could you not learn the names of these adventuresses?" "The porter knows them," he answered, "here they are written down, but I do not know where they live. I intended to send a statement of the affair to the minister and afterwards to the Empress herself, but all access to them is forbidden me."

"Give me the paper" I said, "and resume your usual firmness. Have no more fear, let me attend to it, we shall meet again."

As soon as I returned home I gave directions to some discreet and intelligent persons who were devoted to me, to inform themselves in regard to these suspicious females, and to discover what sort of lives they were leading. I was not long in finding out that the old woman conducted a vile traffic in young girls whom she passed off as her daughters. As soon as I was furnished with the necessary documents and affidavits, I hastened to show them to Paul Jones.

"You have no more to fear," I said, "the criminals are unmasked. It is now only a question of opening the

eyes of the Empress, but this is not so easy to accomplish. There are many very clever people who have means of keeping the truth from her, and the very letters which contain it, are those which are oftenest and most carefully intercepted. Nevertheless, I know that the Empress, who understands this, has forbidden any letters which arrive for her by the post to be detained or opened under the gravest penalties. Therefore I have prepared a long statement in your name, omitting no detail however unpleasant. I regret this for her imperial majesty, but she has listened to and credited this calumny, and she must read your vindication with patience. Copy this letter and sign it, and I will send some one to post it in the nearest village. Take courage, your triumph is assured."

The packet was accordingly posted, the Empress received it, and having read the entirely convincing memorial with the irrefutable testimonials which accompanied it, she revoked her rigorous orders, recalled Paul Jones to court and received him with her usual kindness. The brave sailor enjoyed the reparation which he merited with a proud simplicity, paying little heed to the compliments showered shamelessly upon him from a crowd of people who deserted him in his disgrace, and a short time after, disgusted with a country where one was exposed to such humiliations, asked his congé of the Empress under pretext of reasons of health. She accorded this with a decoration of honor and a suitable pension. He then took his departure, after having expressed his gratitude for the service I had rendered him and his respect for a sovereign who could let herself be deceived but could at least brilliantly atone for and repair her injustice.

The letter which Paul Jones sent to the Empress, although suggested by Segur, bears every mark of his

own composition and was preserved in copy among his papers:

ST. PETERSBURG, *May 17th*, 1789.

MADAM:

I have never served but for honor. I have never sought but glory, and I believed I was in the way of obtaining both, when I accepted the offers made me on the part of your Majesty of entering your service. I was in America when M. de Simolin, through Mr. Jefferson, caused a proposition to be made me, in the name of your Majesty, to take command in chief of the maritime forces in the Black Sea, which were intended to act against the Turks. I sacrificed my dearest interests to accept an invitation so flattering, and I would have reached you instantly if the United States had not entrusted me with a special commission to Denmark. Of this I acquitted myself faithfully and promptly; I passed through Sweden with a view to reaching Abo; but the entrance to that port as well as the whole coast of Finland was locked up by the ice. Under these circumstances I hearkened only to my zeal, threw myself into a small frail shallop, undecked, with some inexperienced peasants, whom my entreaties, menaces and money associated in my destiny, in a manner unexampled, and after a thousand dangers I arrived at Revel. The distinguished reception which your Majesty deigned to grant me, the kindness with which you loaded me, indemnified me for the dangers to which I had exposed myself for your service, and inspired me with the most ardent desire to encounter more. But knowing mankind, and aware that the fate of those persons whom their superiors distinguish and protect is to be ever the objects of jealousy and envy to the worthless, I besought your Majesty never to condemn me unheard. You condescended to give me that promise, and I set out with a mind as tranquil as my heart was satisfied.

In the ports of the Black Sea, I found things in the most critical condition, the most imminent danger threatened us, and our means were feeble. Nevertheless, supported by the love which all your subjects bear to your Majesty, by their courage, by the ability of the chief who led us, and by the Providence which has always favored the arms of your Majesty, we beat your enemies, and your flag was covered with fresh laurels. I would not notice, Madam, what I then achieved if Prince Potemkin had not taken distinguished notice of my services, and given me reiterated thanks both in speech and writing, and if your Majesty, informed by the prince marshal of my conduct in the first affair which took place on the Liman, had not invested me with the honorable badge of the order of St. Anne. Since that period, though I have been circumscribed by the limits of my instructions, I have committed no professional error. I have often exposed myself to personal danger, and I have even stooped to sacrifice my personal feelings and my interests to my devotion for the good of the service.

At the close of the campaign I received orders to return to court, as your Majesty intended to employ me in the North Seas, and I brought with me a letter from Prince Potemkin for your Majesty in which he mentioned my zeal and the usefulness of my services. I had the honor to present it and M. le Comte de Besborodko acquainted me that a command of greater importance than that of the Black Sea, and fitted for the display of the most active and intelligent talent, was intended for me. Such was my situation when upon the mere accusation of a crime, the very idea of which wounds my delicacy, I found myself driven from court, deprived of the good opinion of your Majesty, and forced to employ the time which I wished to devote to the defence of your Empire in cleansing myself from

the stains with which calumny has covered me. Condescend to believe, Madam, that if I had received the slightest hint that a complaint of such a nature had been made against me, and still more that it had come to your Majesty's knowledge, I know too well what is owing to delicacy to have ventured to appear before you till I was completely exculpated.

Understanding neither the laws, the language nor the forms of justice of this country, I needed an advocate, and obtained one, but whether from terror or intimidation, he stopped short all at once and durst not undertake my defense, though convinced of the justice of my cause. But truth may always venture to show itself alone and unsupported at the foot of the throne of your Majesty. I have not hesitated to labour unaided for my own vindication, I have collected proof, and if such details might appear under the eyes of your Majesty I would present them, but if your Majesty will order some person to examine them it will be seen by the report which will be made, that my crime is a fiction invented by the cupidity of a wretched woman, whose avarice has been countenanced, perhaps incited, by the malice of my numerous enemies. Her husband has himself certified and attested to her infamous conduct. His signature is in my hands and the Pastor Braun, of the district, has assured me that if the college of justice will give him an order to this effect he will obtain attestation from the country people that the mother of the girl referred to is known among them as a wretch absolutely unworthy of belief.

Take a soldiers word, Madam! Believe an officer whom two great nations esteem, and who has been honored with flattering marks of their approbation (of which your Majesty will soon recieve direct proof from the United States) I am innocent; and if I were guilty I would not hesitate to make a candid avowal of my

fault, and to commit my honour, which is a thousand times dearer than my life, to the hands of your majesty. If you deign, Madam, to give heed to this declaration, proceeding from a heart the most frank and loyal, I venture from your justice to expect that my zeal will not remain longer in shameful and humiliating inaction. It has been useful to your Majesty, and may again be so, especially in the Mediterranean where with insignificant means I will undertake to execute the most important operations, the plans for which I have meditated long and deeply. But if circumstances of which I am ignorant, do not admit the possibility of my being employed during the campaign, I hope your Majesty will give me permission to return to France or America, granting, as the sole reward of the services I have had the happiness to render, the hope of renewing them at some future day.

Nothing has been or will be able to change or efface in my mind the deep feelings of devotedness with which your Majesty has inspired me. To you, Madam, I am personally devoted. I would rather have my head struck off than see those ties broken asunder which bind me to your service. At the feet of your Majesty I swear to be ever faithful to you as well as to the empire, of which you form the happiness, the ornament and the glory.

I am with the most profound respect, Madam.

Count de Segur's account of the ignoble plot which he so effectually unmasked represents the attitude of the Empress in too favorable a light. Although convinced of his innocence of the base accusation which had been made against him, she never again gave him the slightest mark of her favor. This inexorable attitude is fully explained by an incident of her voyage

through her empire, related in Count de Segur's "Memoirs," as giving a correct idea of her character:

The charming ease of her relations with her fellow travelers, the presence of her young favorite, the recollection of all those who had preceded him, her philosophy, gaiety, and her correspondence with Diderot and Voltaire, giving me no idea that she could be shocked by a conte galant, I told her a story, which perhaps, was a little risqué but which was proper enough to have been well received by the duc de Nivernois, the Prince de Bauvau, and by various women whose virtue equalled their amiability. To my great surprise I suddenly saw my laughing travelling companion assume the face of a majestic sovereign, who interrupted my story with an entirely irrelevant question and thus changed the conversation. It made me think of a witty saying of my brother's that "where virtue reigns propriety is unnecessary."

Demanding that her own extraordinary license should be countenanced by her subjects, the Empress rigorously exacted the observance of all outward appearances. Thus the prudishness of a Catherine the Great, offended irrevocably by the mere odor of an utterly false and disproved accusation, prevented her from giving Paul Jones the least opportunity of rehabilitating his reputation in Russia. That she could for this reason dispense with the military talents which had brought about the success of her arms with the makeshift fleet which Potemkin had collected in the Liman was no less remarkable, in so great a ruler, than her careless disregard of the unlimited devotion which Jones cast at her feet.

Up to the time when this all too successful plot to ruin him in the eyes of the Empress had been put into execution she had undoubtedly intended to retain him in her service. She now instantly availed herself of his request for leave of absence, and gave him a congé of two years, with the promise of continuing his emoluments to prevent his accepting service under another flag.

Some letters painful to read exist among the papers which were published by his relatives, in which he vainly urged the execution of the expeditions he had prepared for Count Besborodko, and complained of being kept waiting in an anteroom in the hope of a final interview with the minister.

To complete the story of the ignoble treatment of Paul Jones at the Russian court, his emoluments were detained, his official accounts suppressed, and all correspondence intercepted, with the exception of one letter to Jefferson of April, 1789, in which he proposed the alliance between Russia and America. On the 17th of July he was permitted to kiss the hand of the Empress at a public audience, when she bade him briefly "bon voyage," ignoring all his written requests for a private interview. Even this curt word of dismissal was treasured and recorded by the too faithful slave of the Empress, who, at sixty-one years, could still inspire so infatuated a devotion. Catherine the Great, an example of genius in personality, must have possessed a power differing both in degree and in kind from any ruler of history. But the magnanimity so freely and often magnificently shown in many acts of unselfishness and

even of idealism was diminished by her paradoxical prudishness, and an inexorable cruelty to all failure or weakness. In a letter to Baron Grimm, of March, 1791, she thus definitely explains her attitude toward Jones, and contradicts Count de Segur's account of her kind reception of the injured officer after his vindication, and her "brilliant reparation" of her injustice:

The two years' absence was given to Mr. Paul Jones, I may say between us, so as to let him retire without any degradation, seeing that there was a charge of violation against him, which did not redound to the honor of his Excellency, his justice and magnanimity. After this deed it would be difficult to find in the Navy a man who would consent to serve under the command of the Rear Admiral. Moreover during the war there was no need for him to become a Turco-Swede. That is why the Rear Admiral was put away after giving him a pension. For six months he had no right to appear at court, and when departing he asked permission to kiss my hand, but never after that nasty incident has he been given an audience as he assures. He knew very well himself that he could never get it under those circumstances.

Although Count de Segur had chivalrously attempted to disguise Catherine's real cruelty to Jones in his regard for both their reputations, no statement was made by Jones himself in regard to her treatment of him which departed from the exact truth, or cast a shade upon his inviolable loyalty to her. Segur, determined to protect him, furnished him with a letter to the French minister of state, the Count Montmorin, as well as an article to be printed in the journals of Europe:

ST. PETERSBURG, 21st July, 1789.

The enemies of the Vice Admiral Paul Jones having caused to be circulated reports entirely destitute of foundation concerning the journey which this general officer is about to undertake, I would wish the enclosed article, the authenticity of which I guarantee, should be inserted in the Gazette of France and in the other public papers which are submitted to the inspection of your department. This article will undeceive those who have believed the calumny and will prove to the friends and to the compatriots of the vice admiral, that he has sustained the reputation acquired by his bravery and his talents during the last war; that the Empress desires to retain him in her service, and that if he absents himself at this moment it is with her own free will, and for particular reasons which cannot leave any stain on his honor.

The glorious marks of the satisfaction and bounty of the king towards M. Paul Jones, his attachment to France, which he has served so usefully in the common cause, his rights as a subject and as an admiral of the United States, the protection of the ministers of the king, and my personal friendship for this distinguished officer, with whom I made a campaign in America, are so many reasons which appear to me to justify the interest which I took in all that concerned him during his stay in Russia.

THE COUNT DE SEGUR.

Article to be inserted in the public prints, particularly in the Gazette of France:

The Vice Admiral Paul Jones, being on the point of returning to France where private affairs require his presence, had the honor to take leave of the Empress the 17th of this month, and to kiss the hand of her

Imperial Majesty, who confided to him the command of her vessels of war, stationed on the Liman during the campaign of 1788. As a mark of favor for his conduct during this campaign the Empress has decorated him with the insignia of the order of St. Anne; and her Imperial Majesty, satisfied with his services, only grants him permission to absent himself for a limited time and still preserves for him his emoluments and his rank.

M. Genêt, the son of Jones's old friend, was then attached to the French embassy at St. Petersburg, and also interested himself in his behalf. He gave him a strong letter to his sister Madam Campan, lent him money for his journey, and charged himself with the duty of obtaining Jones's arrearages of his pay and pension. The Chevalier Littlepage, who had been compelled through Potemkin's peculiar generalship to promptly resign the command he had accepted in Jones's squadron, furnished, several years later, some light on the sources of the plot against Jones. Writing to Jefferson, then in America, in the spring of 1791, Jones states that "the Chevalier Littlepage now here on his way from Spain to the north has promised me a letter to you on my subject which I presume will shew the meanness and absurdity of the intrigues that were practiced for my persecution at St. Petersburg. I did not myself comprehend all the blackness of that business before he came here, and related the information he received from a gentleman of high rank in the diplomatique with whom he travelled in company from Madrid to Paris. That gentleman had long resided in a public character at the court of St. Petersburg and was

there all the time of the pitiful complot against me which was conducted by a little great man behind the curtain. The unequal reception with which I had first been honored by the Empress had been extremely mortifying and painful to the English at St. Petersburg, and the courtier just mentioned (finding that politics had taken a turn far more alarming than he had expected at the beginning of the war) found no first step so expedient as that of sacrificing me! But instead of producing the effect he wished this base conduct on which he pretended to ground a conciliation rather widened the political breach and made him despised by the English minister, by the English cabinet, and by the gentleman who related the secret to the Chevalier."

The promised letter from Littlepage himself expresses the greatest regret that he and Jefferson were instrumental in inducing Jones to enter the Russian service. "Never were more brilliant prospects held forth to an individual and never individual better calculated to attain them. The campaign upon the Liman added lustre to the arms of Russia, and ought to have established forever the reputation and the fortune of the gallant officer to whose conduct those successes were owing, but unfortunately in Russia more perhaps than elsewhere, everything is governed by intrigue. Some political motives *I have reason to think* concurred in depriving Admiral Paul Jones of the fruit of his services. He was thought to be particularly obnoxious to the English nation, and the idea of paying a servile compliment to a power whose enmity occasioned all the present embarrassments of Russia, induced some leading persons

to ruin him in the opinion of the empress by an accusation too ridiculous to be mentioned."

A glance at the alignment of the powers which were represented at the court of Russia, and the particular situation of each in the years 1789-90, reveals that the "little great man behind the curtain" was and could have been none other than the Austrian envoy, the Count de Cobentzel. "Behind the curtain" he was properly said to have been, for he was one of the three foreign ambassadors who had made up the intimate party of the Empress in her progress through the empire, and he was, moreover, the only one who had any reason to be alarmed at the recent turn of political affairs. The Austrian Emperor had so unwisely extended his lines that the Turks had invaded and devastated the province of Bannat, the Austrian arms had been unsuccessful in Bosnia, and a revolt had arisen in Flanders. These facts lent to Cobentzel's excitable imagination a sufficient motive for conciliating England, which was at this juncture blocking all the plans of his sovereign and of his ally, the Empress of Russia. In a letter of instructions to the Count de Segur, belonging to the year 1787, the French minister of foreign affairs, the Count de Vergennes, had already remarked upon the "indecent servility" to the English court exhibited by Cobentzel. Nassau, in his account of the famous progress to the Euxine, where so many intimacies were formed and so much useful knowledge acquired of Catherine's peculiar characteristics, narrates an episode wherein Cobentzel lost his head over a political move of France which seemed to threaten the schemes of the allied rulers.

The character and even the personal appearance of this too zealous and utterly unprincipled courtier fitted him exactly for the ignoble rôle he played in the tragedy of Paul Jones's disgrace and expulsion. "The Austrian ambassador," wrote the Count de Segur, "made one forget the extraordinary vulgarity of his appearance by obliging manners and his gay and vivacious conversation."

"Fitzherbert and Cobentzel" Segur continues, "alone were admitted to the intimacy of Potemkin, and Cobentzel, believing any means justifiable in politics provided it succeeded, surpassed in servility the most docile and devoted of courtiers."

The clear indications thus furnished by Segur, Nassau, and Littlepage regarding the motives and characteristics of the Count de Cobentzel as the instigator of the plot for Jones's destruction are further confirmed in another letter of Jones's written to Potemkin. He here makes a most significant reference to the intrigues which had been on foot to ruin them both in the eyes of the Empress, and says that the prince is aware that the plot against himself was "the echo of another intriguer at the Court of Vienna."¹

Maladroit diplomatist as the Count de Cobentzel was in 1789, on account of his "indecent servility" to England, he was still more so in 1800, when ambassador to France and the First Consul. His obstinate refusal to consent to any of the conditions of the peace then offered to Austria by Napoleon unless England was a party to the contract prolonged hostilities for another

¹ Letter to Potemkin, July 24, 1791.

year of disaster to his country, when the Austrian court, deprived of Tuscany and forced to its knees, was compelled to sign the treaty of Lunéville, which bore far more humiliating conditions than those which he had rejected.

Napoleon's secretary, Baron de Mesenval, who saw much of Cobentzel during a villeggiatura of diplomats near Joseph Bonaparte's estate at Mortfontaine in the summer of 1801, confirms Segur's description of his personal appearance and character:

Although he had a shady and suspicious appearance, and was short, gross and obese, his manners were easy and agreeable. His conversation was superficial and spirited, his mind ingenious rather than profound. He spoke French without accent, was versed in the literature of France and was German only in name.

Count de Cobentzel's familiarity with the language and literature of France, as well as his singular Anglo-mania, had been imbibed from his wife, who was a granddaughter of the celebrated Comtesse de Genlis.¹ The governess of Louis Philippe, Madame de Genlis was also the mistress of his father, Philippe Egalité, whom she had early influenced to his disloyalty to his cousin, Louis XVI, on account of a slight she had suffered from Marie Antoinette. She gave her notorious lover several English successors, was as brilliant as she was mischievous, and wielded an unbounded influence over those who surrounded her.

¹The mother of the Countess de Cobentzel, who was the eldest daughter of the Countess of Genlis, was married at fourteen to the Marquis de Becelær de Lawcæstine.

The Prince de Ligne¹ was the "other intriguer" whom Jones referred to as being the author of the effort to discredit Potemkin and little deserved to be bracketed with the Count de Cobentzel. As a warm friend and sympathizer of Nassau Siegen, he was unfortunately prejudiced against Jones, and never formed a correct opinion of his character. In his capacity of commander of a company of Potemkin's soldiers, the prince was in a position to form a correct idea of Potemkin's generalship, and openly used all his influence with the Austrian Emperor, with Segur, and with Cobentzel himself to bring about his removal from the command of Catherine's armies.

No biographer of Jones has taken the trouble to draw the simple and inevitable conclusions resulting from a study of the political conditions of the period or of the personalities then on the scene. No historian of the campaign of the Liman has recognized Jones's agency in its success, or traced the origin of the plot to destroy him. Yet, although abominably requited, Paul Jones alone saved Kherson and the Crimea, and, at a most critical juncture, preserved the integrity of the empire and the throne of Catherine. The Prince de Ligne makes the following commentary upon the disasters to Austrian territory in a letter to the Emperor, and estimates the probable results of the combined attacks of the Swedes and the Turks upon the northern and south-

¹ The Prince de Ligne, an aristocrat of aristocrats and the pet of the European courts, was strongly hostile to the American officer, and remarks in his "Memoirs" that, "although Jones was considered a valuable acquisition to the Russian navy," he considers him "only a corsair."

ern boundaries of Russia, in case the Capitan Pasha, with his great maritime force, had achieved the success he had every right to anticipate:

OTCHAKOFF, *August, 1789.*

SIRE.

I hope that the month of September will repair the disasters in Bannat and the failures in Bosnia. Could one believe that the tottering Musselman Empire could put the Russian Empire in such peril? The plan of the Turks was exceedingly well conceived, and if the King of Sweden had made his attack three weeks sooner or later, if the Capitan Pasha had succeeded as he should have done in overwhelming with the forest of masts which covered the Liman, the poor fishermen's boats and kitchen galleys which carried us in our romantic voyage down the Borysthene, the King would have got to St. Petersburg and the Pasha to Kherson.

The only reason why the Capitan Pasha failed to destroy the Liman fleet was because it had a commander like Paul Jones. Cool in the face of danger, wise under the most infuriating provocation, counting each hazard, sturdy to remain inactive, when to wait in the face of reproaches of cowardice was braver than to advance, by the extraordinary skill with which he managed his wellnigh unavailable squadron and the flotilla of his worse than useless coadjutor, he again and again outgeneralled the Turks, drove them upon the shallows, terrified them by unexpected traps and manœuvres, and personally showed his men what could be done by his own hand and arm, when he boarded the enemy's galleys under the guns of Otchakov.

All these qualities of valor and astonishing resourcefulness, all this capacity of using inferior forces with success against overwhelming odds, he had manifested before, but the command of many vessels, which he had so long coveted, although given him under conditions of still greater difficulty than he had encountered before, was left for this closing chapter of his career, and it is no exaggeration to state that he acquitted himself with a complete and brilliant success, which in any other country than Russia would have been duly and properly recognized.

Other qualities of leadership, wanting before, are displayed in his extraordinary patience with Nassau, in his management of his seamen, who openly lamented, upon his departure, that they had "lost their father," in his persistent defence of his injured officers, and, more, in his generous praise of his colleagues, including Suvaroff, Kortsakoff, Ribas, and even Alexiano, which are found in his letters to Potemkin preserved among the "pièces justificatives" which accompanied his journal.

No reward for his invaluable services to Russia were bestowed upon him, and no recognition of the fulfilment of his earlier years has found a place in history; but he had undoubtedly developed the essential qualities of an ideal commander, as he had attained the full maturity of his military talents.

CHAPTER XXV

CLOSING YEARS AND DEATH

It was Jones's intention, on leaving St. Petersburg, to revisit Copenhagen, going first to Berlin to witness a great review of the Prussian troops; but on his arrival in Warsaw he was advised by his friends not to appear at the courts of those capitals under the existing political conditions. In a letter to the Chevalier Bourgoing, French minister to Hamburg, to whom Count de Segur had recommended him, he wrote:

As it was known that I had left Russia dissatisfied, and as my enemies had insinuated that I might accept a command in the Swedish Navy, I thought it wise to give them no handle against me and had therefore remained for two months in Warsaw, where I was treated with the greatest politeness by the king and people of fashion.

From Warsaw he sent to the Empress the journal of his American campaigns, which she had once requested, together with an abridged account of his military operations in Russia, calculated to enlighten her regarding the falsity of the official reports and the misrepresentations of his enemies. In his letter he protested his innocence of the charges against him and his undiminished devotion, with a moving candor and simplicity which should have melted the alienated

sovereign. Astonishing indeed that the *inaltérable douceur* to which the Prince de Ligne testified in the grief-stricken letter which he wrote on hearing of her death should have been¹ so cruelly withdrawn from the innocent man who had actually saved her throne and the integrity of her empire.¹

The letters and the accompanying journals were intercepted by Count de Bruce and submitted to Potemkin ere they reached Catherine's hands. Jones was informed of the delay, but not of the fact that the Empress had finally received them, for she made no acknowledgment, and promptly suppressed the account of his Russian campaign, with the comment to

¹ "WARSAW 25th December, 1789.

"Your Imperial Majesty having done me the honor to cause me to be informed by her secretary M. de Chrapovitsky, that she would be pleased to have a copy of my journal (which she had read) of the American war, I have added some testimonies of the high and unanimous consideration of the United States, and of the private esteem with which I was honoured by several great men to whom I am *perfectly known*, such as M. Malesherbes and the Count D'Estaing of France and Mr. Morris, Minister of Finance, and of the American Marine. I have the honour to present it to your Imperial Majesty with profound respect and confidence. I owe it to my reputation and to truth to accompany this journal with an abridgement of the campaign of the Liman. If you will deign, madam, to read it with some attention, you will perceive how little I have deserved the mortifications which I have endured, and which the justice and goodness of your Majesty can alone make me forget.

"As I have never offended in *word, speech or thought*, against the laws or usages of the strictest delicacy, it would assuredly be most desirable to me to have the happiness of regaining, in spite of the malice of my enemies, the precious esteem of your Majesty. I would have taken leave of the court on the 17th July with a heart much better satisfied had I been sent to fight the enemies of the Empress instead of occupying myself with my own private affairs. Trusting entirely on the gracious promise that your Majesty gave me, 'Never to condemn me without a hearing,' and being devoted to you heart and soul, I am with profound respect, &c."

Grimm that they contained too many complaints to be safely left open for casual perusal. The fear she expressed in her letter to Grimm, that he might enter the service of her enemies, had some foundation. Although writing contemptuously of the rumor, he had ample provocation for entertaining the idea, and was strongly urged to do so by no less a person than Kosciusko.

Although given leave of absence, Jones had in reality been expelled from Russia after the drastic custom of that half-civilized empire, and, tingling with the shame of the undeserved insult, it would have been only human if he had yielded to the influence of the anti-Russian atmosphere of Warsaw and accepted, without delay or hesitation, the idea of taking arms against the country and the ruler who had so cruelly injured him. Such a proposition from Catherine's enemies, although properly to be rejected after mature deliberation, was at least consoling to Jones's injured pride, and his preserved correspondence with Kosciusko bears unquestionably evidence that he did not peremptorily forbid the Polish patriot from acting as intermediary to sound the Swedish court in regard to the matter. A letter from Jones to Kosciusko, dated the 2d November, 1789, on the day of his departure from Warsaw, contained his promise to write to America of Kosciusko's distinguished situation in Poland and of his love for the country he had so gallantly served, but it also contained an itinerary of Jones's future movements and his permanent address at Amsterdam, where he intended to pass the winter.

The following letter from Kosciusko shows that his preliminary negotiations with the representatives of the Swedish Government had been productive of apparently favorable results:

WARSAW *15th February, 1790.*

MY DEAR SIR:

I had the honor to write you the 1st or 3rd of February. I do not recollect; but I gave you the information to apply to the Minister of Svede at Hague or at Amsterdam for the propositions according to what M. D'Engestrom told me they both had order to communicate you. I wish with all my heart that it could answer your expectations. I am totally ignorant what they are; but I could see you to fight against the oppression and tyranny. Give me news of everything.

I am dear sir,

Your most humble and most obedient servant,
T. KOSCIUSKO, G. M.

From Warsaw Jones went to pay a visit to the Duke of Würtemberg, at Mount Beliard, near Strasburg, and from thence to Vienna, where, after a few days' repose, he wrote the following graceful letter to some Polish friends, the Countess of Walery and her daughter:

VIENNA, *23rd November, 1789.*

MADAM:

I have executed your commission to the best of my ability. On arriving here, I delivered to Mademoiselle Caroline all the articles which you entrusted to me except the fan which I had forgotten at home (not having put it in my pocket at the barrier with the

other articles, for fear of breaking it) and which I delivered the next day to the femme de chambre. I went to pay a visit at the convent today, but was unable to have the pleasure of seeing Mdle Caroline who is slightly indisposed. I saw your other two daughters who are very pretty and very interesting. They had given me hopes of having an audience of the emperor; but I no longer expect it as he sees no one, and conversation is painful to him. I left the works of Thompson at the convent and here are some remarks for Mdle the Countess, who will have the goodness to accept the books as if I had had the honor of presenting them to her on her birthday.

I have spoken to you several times of the beautiful poems called the Seasons, written by the delicate author, whose works I have deposited with your sister for your acceptance. There is nothing in the English language that surpasses his thoughts and the happy elegance of expression. In the first and second volumes you will meet with some small parts where the margin is marked or the words interlined, though without that circumstance the contents would not have escaped your particular attention. Adieu. I pay you no compliment, but I wish you all possible good. One word more, and be not offended. The manuscript I put in your hands, and which, as I have since found, abounded with faults and inaccuracies, was never before confided to any other person long enough to have been copied either partially or wholly. I did not request of you to let no extracts be taken from it. If any have been taken you will be so good as to inform me how many, and the extent of each.

I am about setting out on my way to Holland. I shall ever carry with me the remembrance of your kindness. My address is under envelope to Messrs.

Nicholas and Jacob Van Stophorst at Amsterdam. Should you learn anything it concerns me to know, you will have the goodness to inform me of it. Present my respects to the Count.

Rumors of his desire to enter the service of Austria were reported from Vienna to Germany and thence to the Parisian journals, which were always eager for news of him. No reason existed which would have made such a connection undesirable to Jones; he was presented to the Ministry of the Russian ambassador Prince Galitzin, but he was unable to see the Emperor, then in his last illness, and as the correspondent of the *Gazette Nationale* observed, "Austria had no navy of sufficient importance to properly occupy the vice admiral."

In December he arrived in Amsterdam, where he spent six uneventful months, in the city which once had rung with his praise. His first occupation was to communicate with America, and he wrote thus, on the 20th, to Washington:

AMSTERDAM, *December 20, 1789.*

SIR:

I avail myself of the departure of the Philadelphia packet *Captain Earle*, to transmit to your excellency a letter I received for you on leaving Russia in August last, from my friend Count de Segur, Minister of France at St. Petersburg. That gentleman and myself have frequently conversed on subjects that regard America; and the most pleasing reflection of all has been the happy establishment of the new constitution and that you are so deservedly placed at the head of the government by the unanimous voice of America. Your name alone, Sir, has established in Europe a con-

fidence that was for some time entirely wanting in American concerns; and I am assured that the happy effects of your administration are still more sensibly felt throughout the United States. This is more glorious for you than all the laurels that your sword has so nobly won in support of the rights of human nature. In war your fame is immortal, as the hero of liberty. In peace you are her patron and the firmest supporter of her rights. Your greatest admirers and even your best friends have now but one wish left for you, that you may long enjoy health and your present happiness.

Mr. Jefferson can inform you respecting my mission to the court of Denmark. I was received and treated there with marked politeness; and if the fine words I received are true, the business will soon be settled. I own however that I should have stronger hopes if America had created a respectable marine, for that argument would give weight to every transaction with Europe. I acquitted myself of the commission with which you honoured me when last in America, by delivering your letters with my own hands at Paris to the persons to whom they were addressed.

Writing to Franklin on the 29th, he enclosed the documents which Segur had prepared for his vindication of the charges against him in Russia:

The enclosed documents from my friend, the Count de Segur, Minister plenipotentiary of France at St. Petersburg, will explain to you in some degree my reasons for leaving Russia and the danger to which I was exposed by the dark intrigues and mean subtrefuges of Asiatic jealousy and malice. Your former friendship for me which I remember with particular satisfaction and have been ever ambitious to merit,

will I am sure be exerted in the kind use you will make of the three pieces I now send you, for my justification in the eyes of my friends in America, whose good opinion is dearer to me than anything else. I wrote to the Empress from Warsaw in the beginning of October with a copy of my journal which will show her majesty how much she has been deceived by the account she had of our maritime operations last campaign. I can easily prove to the world that I have been treated unjustly but I intend to remain silent at least till I know the fate of my journal. I shall remain in Europe till after the opening of the next campaign and perhaps longer before I return to America. From the troubles in Brabant and the measures now pursuing by the King of Prussia &c I presume that peace is yet a distant object and that the Baltic will witness warmer work than it has yet done. On the death of Admiral Grieg I was last year recalled from the Black Sea by the Empress, to command a squadron in the Baltic. This set the invention of all my enemies and rivals at work, and the event has proved that the Empress cannot always do as she pleases.

N. B. It is this day ten years since I left the Texel in the *Alliance*.

The idea of an ultimate home in America, long cherished and often deferred, now dwelt in his mind as a refuge from his disappointed ambitions, but his attachment to the Empress still controlled him, and again and again recalling what he described as the "almost motherly kindness" of her first reception, he hoped against hope that she would alter what seemed to him her incomprehensible displeasure and recall him to her service. Innocent of any fault he still

believed that her real intentions were benevolent, and that she could not, as he wrote to Franklin, "do as she pleased." Fearing, however, that the influence of his enemies might still prevail, he wrote to Mr. Charles Thompson, secretary of Congress, asking him to inquire about a small estate near Lancaster, and also to his old friend John Ross, saying that he might shortly return to America, in which event he should purchase "a little farm" and there live in peace. To John Parish, another American friend residing in Hamburg, he wrote also on the 29th December, enclosing Segur's exculpatory letters, and informing him that he might visit Hamburg in the spring, and "pay his court to some of your kind, rich old ladies." Segur had written a sort of circular letter in Jones's behalf to the diplomatic agents in Hamburg, Paris, Prussia, and Denmark, a copy of which Jones now despatched to Baron Krudener, still Russian minister in Copenhagen, and to the French minister, the Baron de la Houze, for his perusal:

ST. PETERSBURG, *August 20th*, 1789.

SIR:

The Vice Admiral Paul Jones, who will have the honor to deliver this letter, commanded during the last campaign a Russian Squadron stationed in the Liman. The Empress has decorated him on this occasion with the order of St. Anne. He had a right by his actions to a promotion and a recompense, but this celebrated sailor knowing better how to conduct himself in the midst of his battles than in courts has offended by his frankness some of the most powerful people and amongst others the Prince Potemkin. His

enemies and his rivals have profited by his momentary disgrace to hasten his destruction. Calumny has served their purposes, they have given credit to reports absolutely false, they have accused him of violating a girl. The Empress being deceived has forbidden him the court, and wishes to bring him to trial. Every person has abandoned him. I alone have upheld and defended him. The country to which he belongs, the order of military merit which he bears, and which he has so nobly acquired, his brilliant reputation and above all our long acquaintance have made it a law to me, my cares have not been in vain, I have caused his innocence to be acknowledged. He has repaired to court and has kissed the hand of the Sovereign, but he will not remain in a country where he believes himself to have been treated with injustice. However he has not given in his resignation. The Empress still preserves for him his rank and emoluments and only grants him permission to absent himself for a limited time. The true motive of his departure is found on his own discontent. But he has made use of as a pretext important affairs which call him to France to Denmark and which may perhaps require his presence in America. I beg you, Sir, to render this brave man, as interesting by the reverses of fortune he has met with by his past success, every service in your power. It will lay me under a true obligation and I shall share in a lively manner his gratitude.

That Segur's efforts to clear Jones's reputation from the calumny of which he had been the victim were entirely successful outside the borders of Russia is shown by the reply of the Baron de la Houze, who wrote on the 9th of February as follows:

It is but a few days since I received with the letter with which you have honored me, of the 29th December, the copies of that of the Count de Segur which you have been pleased to communicate to me, and which were accompanied by the article inserted on your account in the *Gazette* of France, and which I had read. This article which has been repeated in many foreign gazettes has entirely destroyed all the venomous effects which calumny had employed to tarnish the distinguished reputation which you have acquired by your talents and valour. In consequence, public opinion still continues to render you justice, and the most noble revenge you can take on your enemies is to gather fresh laurels. The celebrated Athenian general Themistocles has said, "I do not envy the situation of the man who is not envied."

In his letter to Baron Krudener Jones had referred to the medal which had been ordered by the United States in his honor, and avowed that, notwithstanding the very different treatment he had received in Russia, "the warm attachment with which the empress had inspired him was still rooted in his heart." Krudener sent a prompt and courteous reply to Jones's letter, making no reference to the disgraceful treatment which he had received, or of the vindictory documents of Segur, but congratulated him warmly on the mark of esteem and distinction he had received from the United States, and wrote, in conclusion: "It is doubtful we shall have peace this year; in all events I flatter myself as a good Russian that your arm is always reserved for us."

Another long letter to Jefferson was composed on

the 29th December in which Jones informed him of the plot for his destruction, and discussed another matter which had caused him considerable embarrassment:

The day before I left the court of Copenhagen [he wrote], the Prince Royal had desired to speak to me in his apartment. His Royal Highness was extremely polite and after saying many civil things, remarked he hoped I was satisfied with the attentions which had been shown me since my arrival, and that the king would wish to give me some mark of his esteem.

I have never had the happiness to render any service to his majesty.

That is nothing; a man like you ought to be excepted from ordinary rules. You could not have shown yourself more delicate as regards our flag and every person here loves you.

I took leave without further explanation. I have felt myself in an embarrassing situation on account of the king's patent and I have as yet made no use of it, though three years have elapsed since I received it. I wished to consult you; but when I understood that you would not return to Europe I consulted Mr. Short and Mr. G. Morris, who both gave me their opinion that I may with propriety accept the advantage offered. I have in consequence determined to draw for the sum due, and I think you will not disapprove of this step as it will by no means weaken the claim of the United States but rather the contrary.

Baron Krudener informed Jones, on Count Bernsdorff's authority, that the patent, which amounted to one thousand five hundred crowns per annum,¹ was ready at any time he should choose to apply for it, for

¹About three hundred dollars.

in spite of his financial embarrassments, which were at times very distressing, Jones never brought himself to make the application and nothing further transpired in the matter. It was a voluntary offer absolutely unrelated to the transference of the claim to Paris, and was only known to Jones after his arrival in Russia. His hesitation in relation to it, like his indecision regarding Kosciusko's proposition, was indicative of his state of mind in this last declining and most unhappy period of his life.

Toward the middle of February Jones paid a visit to The Hague for the purpose of trying to procure an advance from Ross's bankers on the sums due him from his American investments, which were in Ross's charge. On his return he wrote Kosciusko in regard to the result of his inquiries regarding the messages which Kosciusko had informed him would be awaiting him at his bankers in Amsterdam:

MY DEAR SIR:—

The letter you did me the honour to write me the 2nd of February was delivered at my bankers here by a man who demanded from them a receipt. I was then at the Hague and your letter was transmitted to me. On my return here some days ago I found another letter from you of the 15th February. This letter had by the same man been put in the hands of my bankers. You propose if I am not mistaken that I should apply to a gentleman at the Hague, who has something to communicate to me. But a moments reflection will convince you that consideration of what I owe to myself as well as the delicacy of my situation does not permit me to take such a step. If that gentleman has

any thing to communicate to me he can either do it by writing, by desiring a personal conference or by the mediation of a third person. I have shown your letter to my bankers and they have said this much to the gentleman from whom they received it, but this message they say he received with an air of indifference.

The letter is very enigmatic, but it expresses Jones's final unwillingness to carry out his correspondent's desire that he should enter the service of Sweden. No further reference to the idea exists in his preserved correspondence.

The months of the winter passed without news from Russia and in a complete absence of incident which was particularly irksome to him. That his solitude and depression were not entirely unrelieved by the interest of agreeable women other than the affluent and kindly disposed old ladies whom he had humorously referred to is shown by the following letter to Madam D'Altiigny, evidently a recent acquaintance of his visit to Warsaw. The lady's interest, shown by the four letters she had written him, was possibly keener than Jones had anticipated, but his reference to her misfortunes shows that he was still susceptible of a sympathetic friendship and, as always, capable of inspiring it:

AMSTERDAM, *8th February.*

I have received, my dear madam, the two obliging letters you did me the honor to address me from Avignon, on the 18th and 22nd of December. Accept also I pray you, my sincere acknowledgements for the two letters you had the kindness to send me at Strassburg. I am infinitely flattered by the interest with which I

have had the happiness to have inspired you, and your good wishes in my concerns give me true pleasure. I am not come here on account of anything connected with military operations, and though I think it right to retain my rank, I have always regarded war as the scourge of the human race. I am very happy that you are once more above your difficulties. Past events will enable you to value the blessings of Providence, among which to a sensible heart, there are none greater than health and independence, enjoyed in the society of persons of merit. As soon as circumstances permit, I shall feel eager to join the delightful society in which you are. As you have not sent me your address at Avignon, I beg you to do so, and to be assured of my entire esteem.

The long period of inaction, following the close of the Russian campaign, had its usual effect upon Jones's already depleted health, and financial embarrassment added greatly to his distress. Although Genêt had succeeded in collecting the arrears of his very modest appointments from the court of Russia, his funds were entirely exhausted by the end of the winter, and without advices from Ross as to his American investments the latter's bankers at The Hague refused to honor his drafts. In this emergency he was relieved by a stranger, but decided to journey to London to recover some portion of the funds he had lent Bancroft for a speculation in Querciton bark. This effort was successful, as Bancroft returned half the amount, but the journey was too much for his strength, and on arriving in Paris in June he was compelled to take to his bed.

A letter written to his devoted friend Madam D'Al-tigny, in December of this year, indicates the seriousness of his condition:

PARIS, *December 27, 1790.*

MY DEAR MADAM,

I have received your charming letter of the 2nd March. Having an affair of business to arrange in England I went from Amsterdam to London at the beginning of May to settle it. I escaped being murdered on landing.¹ From London I came hither and have not had an hour of health since my arrival. I now feel convalescent, otherwise I would not have dared to write for fear of giving pain to your feeling heart. In leaving Holland my plan was to repair to Avignon in compliance with your obliging invitation. My health formed an invincible obstacle, but I still hope to indemnify myself on the return of the fine weather. I was for long much alarmed by the disturbances which interrupted the peace of your city, and am very glad to see they are ended. I have learned with lively satisfaction that they have had no disagreeable consequences so far as regards you. Give me news of yourself I pray you, and of those interesting persons of whom you speak in your last letter. Accept the assurance of the sincere sentiments which you are formed to inspire.

Although relieved temporarily from financial difficulties, Jones's health was now gravely impaired. With lungs hopelessly weakened by his many attacks of bronchitis, culminating in the nearly fatal pneumonia caused by the exposure of his journey to Kherson, his

¹The Naval Chronicle, vol. 24, November, 1810, states that when Jones landed at Harwich from Amsterdam in 1790, in the month of April or May, the populace were enraged and declared they would take vengeance upon him if they laid hold of him.

shattered constitution was wholly unable to withstand his corroding sense of injury and the torments of his undying and now always disappointed ambitions. With the means in his hands of confounding his enemies and clearing his own reputation, he still strangely hesitated to publish his journal, hoping, in spite of the unbroken silence of the Empress, that she might still recall him to Russia. When occasionally he was able to leave his bed he would visit the Russian embassy, where M. de Simolin always listened to him with courteous attention, or call upon Baron Grimm, through whom he hoped vainly to re-establish his relations with the relentless sovereign. He had prepared a document for her perusal, to be published in connection with his journal, a declaration of his decision never to bear arms against either France or America, and his definite announcement of his intention of resigning from the Russian navy.¹

His loyalty to the Empress, pathetic, unrewarded, and mistaken, always stood in the way of his desire for

¹ NOTICE.

The Rear Admiral, Paul Jones, desirous of making known unequivocally his manner of thinking in relation to his military connection with Russia declares.

1st. That he has at all times expressed to her Imperial Majesty of Russia, his vow to preserve the condition of an American officer and citizen.

2nd. That having been honoured by his Most Christian Majesty with a gold sword he has made a like vow never to draw it on any occasion where war might be waged against his Majesty's interest.

3rd. That circumstances, which the rear admiral could not foresee when he wrote on the last occasion, make him feel a presentiment that, in spite of his attachment and gratitude to her Imperial Majesty, and notwithstanding the advantageous propositions which may be made to him he will probably renounce the service of that power, even before the expiration of the leave of absence which he now enjoys.

self-vindication, and the declaration which would definitely proclaim his abandonment of her service, with the journal and all its accompanying testimonials, never saw the light during his lifetime. The sacrifice of his military pride, the greatest he could offer her, was the result, as he avowed to the Russian minister, of his "delicate attachment" for the Empress. Although he wrote Genêt, in a letter of July the 1st, that he would soon present his letter to Madam Campan, he never availed himself of the opportunity of making that interesting woman's acquaintance. He was in no mood for going to court, and unfitted for the once happy society of Versailles, where he had before been so rapturously welcomed. Sadly changed in these years was the gay city of kings, and the hero returning in poverty, illness, and humiliating inaction found no motive for attempting to relive the past or to play a rôle for which he was no longer adapted. The enthusiastic soldier of liberty and defender of the rights of human nature had no sympathy for the raging violence of the revolutionists, as is shown by a brief entry in the diary of Gouverneur Morris, then American minister to Paris, whom he had visited on the anniversary of American independence:

July 4th. Paul Jones called on me this morning. He is much vexed at the democracy of this country.

His affection for Louis XVI was expressed, with possibly some danger to himself, by the gift of some furs which he had brought from Russia. In a letter to Lafayette he makes reference to this testimony of his loyalty to the royal house, and announces his intention

of delivering to the King the long-retained letter from Jay, asking for permission to embark in the French fleet of evolution:

December 7th 1790

DEAR GENERAL,

My ill health for some time past has prevented me from the pleasure of paying you my personal respects, but I hope shortly to indulge myself with that satisfaction.

I hope you approve the quality of the fur linings I brought from Russia for the King and yourself. I flatter myself that his majesty will accept from your hand that little mark of the sincere attachment I feel for his person; and be assured that I shall always be ready to draw the sword, with which he honored me, for the service of the virtuous and illustrious Protector of the Rights of Human Nature. When my health shall be reestablished M. Simolin will do me the honor to present me to his majesty as a Russian Admiral, afterwards it will be my duty as an American officer to wait on his Majesty with the letter which I am directed to present to him from the United States.

On the 24th of July, from the solitude of his sick-room, he sent the following recapitulation of his campaign in Russia to Potemkin, vainly recalling his promises of protection and friendship.

MY LORD,

I do not think it becomes me to let pass the return of your aide de camp, to congratulate you on the brilliant success of your operations since I had the honor to serve under your orders and to express to you in all the sincerity of my heart the regret I feel in not being

fortunate enough to contribute thereto. After the campaign of the Liman, when I had leave according to the special desire of her imperial majesty to return to the department of the northern seas, your highness did me the favor to grant me a letter of recommendation to the Empress and to speak to me these words: "Rely upon my attachment. I am disposed to grant you the most solid proofs of my friendship for the present and for the future." Do you recollect them? This disclosure was too flattering for me to forget it, and I hope that you will permit me to remind you of it. Circumstances and the high rank of my enemies have deprived me of the benefits which I dared to hope from the esteem which you had expressed for me and which I had endeavored to merit by my services. You know the disagreeable situation in which I was placed, but if as I dared to believe, I have preserved your good opinion, I may still hope to see it followed by advantages which it will be my glory to owe to you. M. de Simolin will testify to you that my attachment to Russia and the great princess who is its sovereign has always been constant and durable. I attended to my duties, and not to my fortune. I have been wrong and I avow it with a frankness which carries with it its own excuse.

1st That I did not request of you a *carte blanche* and the absolute command of all the forces of the Liman.

2nd To have written to your highness under feelings highly excited, on the 15th October (New Style) 1788. These are my faults. If my enemies have wished to impute others to me I swear before God that they are a calumny. It only rests with me, my lord, to unmask the villainy of my enemies by publishing my journal of the operations of the campaign of the Liman with all the proofs clear as the day, and which I have in my hands. It only rests with me to prove that I directed under your orders all the useful operations against the

Capitan Pasha, that it was I who beat him on the 7th June, that it was I and the brave men I commanded who conquered him on the 17th June, and who chased into the sands two of his largest galleys before our flotilla was ready to fire a single shot; and during the time a very considerable part of the force of the enemy remained at anchor immediately in the rear of my squadron. That it was I who gave General Suvaroff, (he had the nobleness to declare it at court before me, to the most respectable witnesses) the first project to establish the battery and breast works on the isthmus of Kinbourn, and which were of such great utility on the night of the 17th-18th June; that it was I in person who towed with my sloops and other vessels the batteries which were the nearest to the place, the 1st July, and who took Turkish galleys by boarding, very much in advance of our line whilst some gentlemen who have been too highly rewarded in consequence of it, were content to remain in the rear of the struggles of our line, if I may be allowed to use the expression sheltered from danger. You have seen yourself, My Lord, that I have never valued my person on any occasion where I had the good fortune to act under your eyes. The whole of Europe acknowledges my veracity and grants me some military talents which it would give me pleasure to employ in the service of Russia and under your orders.

The time will arrive, My Lord, when you will know the truth of what I have told you. Time is a sovereign master, it will teach you to appreciate the man who loaded with your benefits departed from the court of Russia with a memorial prepared by other hands and the enemies of your glory, and of which memorial he made no use, because your brilliant success at the taking of Otchakoff gave the lie to all the horrors which had been brought forward to enrage the Empress

against you. You know it was the echo of another intriguer at the court of Vienna. In fine, time will teach you, my lord, that I am neither a mountebank nor a swindler but a man true and loyal. I rely upon the attachment and friendship which you promised me. I rely upon it because I feel myself worthy of it. I reclaim your promise, because you are just and I know you a lover of truth. I commanded and was the only responsible person in the campaign of the Liman the others being only of inferior rank, or simple volunteers; I am however the only one who has not been promoted or rewarded.

I am extremely thankful for the order of St. Anne which you procured for me, according to your letter of thanks for my conduct in the affair of the 7th June, which was not decisive. The 17th June I gained over the Capitan Pasha a complete victory, which saved Kherson and Kinbourn, the terror of which caused the enemy to lose nine vessels of war in their precipitate flight on the following night under the cannon of the battery and breastwork which I had caused to be erected on the isthmus of Kinbourn. On this occasion I had the honor again to receive a letter of thanks, but my enemies and rivals have found means to abuse your confidence since they have been exclusively rewarded. They merited rather to have been punished for having burnt nine armed prizes with their crews, which were absolutely in our power, having previously ran aground under our guns.

I have been informed that according to the institution of the order of St. George, I have the right to claim its decoration in the second class for the victory of the 17th June, but I rely upon your justice and generosity. I regret that a secret project which I addressed to the Count Besborodko the 6th June of last year had not been adopted. I communicated this project

to the Baron de Beichler who has promised to speak to you of it. I was detained in St. Petersburg until the end of August in order to hinder me from proceeding into the service of Sweden. My poor enemies, how I pity them! But for this circumstance my intention was to have presented myself at your head quarters in the hope of being of some utility, and the Baron de Beichler in departing from St. Petersburg in order to join you, promised me to assure you of my devotion for the service of your department and that I should hold myself ready to return to you the instant I was called. My conduct has not changed, although I hold in my hand a parole for two years, and I regard eighteen months of this parole in time of war more as a punishment than as a favor. I hope that your highness will succeed in concluding peace this year with the Turks, but in a contrary case, if it should ease you to recall me to take command of the fleet in the ensuing campaign, I would ask permission to bring with me the French officer concerning whom I spoke to you with one or two others who are good tacticians and who have some knowledge of war. On my return here I received a gold medal granted me by the unanimous voice of congress at the moment I received a parole from this honorable body.

The United States decreed me this honor in order to perpetuate the remembrance of the services which I rendered to America eight years previous, and have ordered a copy to be presented to all the sovereigns and all the academies of Europe, with the exception of Great Britain. There is reason to believe that your highness will be numbered among the sovereigns of Europe, in consequence of the treaty of peace which you are about to conclude with the Turks, but in any case if a copy of my medal will be acceptable to you, as a mark of my attachment for your person, it will do me an honor to offer it to you.

Potemkin made no reply to this letter, and no slightest hint was conveyed to Jones by M. Simolin, Genêt, or Baron Grimm, of any alteration in the disposition of the Russian court in regard to him. After nearly a year of unbroken silence, Jones, still strangely persistent, again addressed himself to the Empress:

PARIS, *March 8th 1791*

MADAM,

If I could imagine that the letter I had the honour to write to your majesty from Warsaw the 25th September 1789 had come to hand, it would be without doubt indiscreet in me to ask you to cast your eyes on the documents enclosed which accuse no person, and the only intent of which is to let you see that in the important campaign of the Liman, the part which I played was not either that of a hero or of a harlequin who required to be made a colonel at the *tail* of his regiment. I have in my hands the means to prove incontestably that I directed all the useful operations against the Capitan Pasha. The task which was given me at this critical conjuncture was very difficult, I was obliged to sacrifice my own opinion and risk my military reputation for the benefit of your empire. But I hope you will be satisfied with the manner in which I conducted myself, and also of the subsequent arrangements of which I am persuaded you have not been acquainted until this moment. The gracious counsel which your majesty has often done me the honour to repeat to me before my departure for the black sea, and in the letter which you deigned to write to me afterwards has since been the rule of my conduct, and the faithful attachment with which you have inspired me for your person, was the only reason which hindered me from requesting my dismissal when I wrote you from

Warsaw, for I confess that I was extremely afflicted and even offended, at having received a parole for two years in time of war; a parole which it never entered my mind to wish for and still less to ask, and of which I have not profited to go to America or even to Denmark where I had important business; for I always hoped to be usefully employed in your service, before the expiration of this parole which has done me so much injury, and although in public I would not have failed to have spoken to you at the last audience which you granted me, yet I was unfortunately led to believe the repeated promises made me that I should have a private audience in order to lay before you my military projects and to speak of them in detail.

I hope that the brilliant success with which Providence has blessed your arms, will enable you to grant peace to your enemies without shedding more of human blood; but in a contrary case, your majesty can be well instructed from my projects (no 12) of the last year. As I have my enemies and as the term of my parole is about to expire, I await the orders of your majesty and should be flattered if it is your pleasure for me to come and render you an account in person. Mr — who has the goodness to charge himself with this packet, which I have addressed to him, sealed with my arms, will also undertake to forward me your orders. I therefore pray you to with-draw me as soon as possible from the cruel uncertainty in which I am placed. Should you deign madam, to inform me that you are pleased with the services which I have had the happiness to render you, I will console myself for the misfortunes which I have suffered, as I drew my sword for you from personal attachment and ambition and not for interest.

My fortune as you know is not very considerable but as I am philosopher enough to confine myself to my means, I shall always be rich.

The Empress, still inexorable, sent no reply to this agonizing appeal from the man who was literally breaking his heart for her sake, but, encouraged by Grimm, who wrote many letters in his attempt to soften her hostility, Jones prepared new schemes for expeditions against the English in India, and presented, in a letter to Grimm, the following proposition for the improvement of her ships of war:

To Baron Grimm. Bourbon le Bair.

PARIS *July 9th*, 1791.

SIR,

M. Houdon has sent to your house the bust which you have done me the honor to accept. Mademoiselle Marchais has informed me of all the obliging things you have said regarding my affairs. She just told me that the answer of the Empress awaits you at Frankfort. As it is my duty to interest myself in objects that may be useful to Russia, I must inform you that I have met with a man here, whom I have known for fifteen years, who has invented a new construction of ships of war, which has small resemblance either externally or internally to our present war ships and which will, he says, possess the following advantages over them.

I. The crew will be better sheltered during an engagement.

II. The accommodations of the crew will be more spacious; every individual may have a bed or a hammock and there will be as much air as is wished for night and day in the places for sleeping.

III. There will be less smoke during an engagement.

IV. A ship of the new construction of 54 guns, if well armed and commanded may face out one of the old

make of 80 or 90 and need not run away from one of a hundred.

V. That besides requiring less artillery the new vessels would cost less in their construction and different sorts of wood both dear and rare required for the old vessels might be dispensed with.

VI. A new ship displaying to the eye all the majesty of her appointments would have a more imposing appearance of power than another and would never be forced into an engagement without stupid imprudence on the part of her commander.

VII. Vessels of the new construction would add to many other advantages, that of greater facility in navigation, sailing a quarter or 2 degrees and fifteen minutes nearer the wind than the old ones and swerving less from the course.

It is a long time since in conjunction with my friend Dr. Franklin, I tried to devise the construction of a ship which could be navigated without ballast, be ready for action at any time, draw less water and at the same time drive little or not at all to leeward. We always encountered great obstacles. Since the death of that great philosopher, having too much time on my hands I think I have surmounted the difficulties which baffled our researches. I would dedicate to the Empress without any stipulation, all that my feeble genius has accomplished in naval architecture. I believe I have found out the secret of mounting on a ship of war with the qualifications I have mentioned above, five batteries of whatever calibre is desired. Will not this, presuming it correct, be of great advantage to the infant Marine of the Black Sea, and consequently to the Russian Empire.

On the 14th of May, 1791, the Empress replied to a letter of Grimm in which he had enclosed Jones's mem-

orandum regarding military action in India against the English, at the same time discussing Jones's letter to her:

As regards Rear Admiral Paul Jones, let us see what he desires of me, and of what does his plan consist. I believe the best plan to be, should England declare war on us, to capture as many as possible of her ships. India is a long way off and before we reach it, peace would be made. However let us read Paul Jones' letter. Firstly he speaks of his campaign on the *Li-man*, declaring that he accuses no one, and these words are under lined. He adds that his part was neither that of a hero or of a fool who demanded the rank of a colonel at the tail of his regiment, and the word tail he even underlines.¹

He says he has proof in his hands that shows entirely that he directed all the movements against the *Capitan Pasha*, but the commentator (the *Empress*) remarks that if he did direct all the actions against *Capitan Pasha*, anyhow he did not defeat the enemy, seeing that on receiving order after order to attack he did not advance, declaring himself that the wind was contrary.²

He says that the task given him in this case was a heavy one, that may be, but the question was about inflicting blows, and under these conditions it is better to inflict blows than to support them. He says that he had to sacrifice his *amour propre* and risk his military reputation for the welfare of the Russian Empire, and that he hopes that I was pleased with the way he carried out his task, and will approve of the schemes

¹ The *Empress* did not recognize that Jones was probably quoting the remark of some clown at the theatre playing the rôle of a cowardly braggart.

² The *Empress* refers to the one instance when Jones, prevented by a contrary wind, could not overtake the Turkish transports.

regarding his subsequent acts of which he is sure I know nothing up to now. God only knows what this means.¹

He further says that he has always been guided by my gracious advice which I repeated in writing and only his devotion to my person restrained him from offering his resignation in his letter to me from Warsaw, and that he is hurt in his feelings to receive leave of two years in time of war. The last words are underlined.

The Empress then explains in the words already quoted (chapter XXIV) that the vile charge, of violation, of which he had been completely vindicated, had been the real cause of his dismissal, saying: "This is why the Rear Admiral was put away." "If peace be not concluded," she writes at the end of her letter, "I shall inform Paul Jones of my intention."

On the 1st of September, in answer to another request from Grimm that she would consider recalling Jones to her service, she says:

I think I have nothing more to say of Paul Jones. I have already emptied my bag regarding him, and in view of the conclusion of peace advise him to attend to his affairs in America. Certainly I shall not be the first to apply the new construction of ships mentioned by him, let him propose it to England.

The Empress finally reproved Grimm for his impertinence, and informed him that if she had anything to communicate to Jones she would do it directly.

¹ Jones was referring to the propositions given to Besborodko, which he believed quite correctly to have been pigeon-holed in the minister's cabinet.

The unrelenting prejudice of her review of Jones's letter, the lack of acumen which permitted the incontestable proofs of his sole agency in winning the victories of the Liman campaign to pass unnoticed, the lack of interest in the proposition to improve the notoriously bad construction of her war-ships, and the little, not to say mean, sarcasm of her recommendation that Jones should offer his ideas to England, shows to what an extraordinary extent her hypocritical squeamishness for an appearance of moral decorum could cloud her judgment and cause her to act in direct contradiction to her well-known character of an enlightened and progressive sovereign. Raising her sensuality to the height of a court institution, bestowing upon her successive lovers a special rank of great importance, for which she exacted unquestioning recognition, this paradoxical attitude was the sole tribute which she rendered to her sex. There was no appeal from the inexorable idiosyncrasy of this trait, and no pity from the tyrant who was never undeceived in regard to what she believed was Jones's failure to sustain by his accomplishments in her service the reputation he had previously acquired.

Jones's appearance and unmerited misfortunes in these last tortured years appealed so strongly to Segur's chivalry and compassion that he declared it a sacred duty to aid and defend him. Other gentle souls, such as Littlepage, Grimm, and Madam D'Altigny, also desired to soften the pain of his cruel situation. For all their evidences of sympathy he was characteristically grateful. On receiving favorable advices in regard to his American investments he hastened to write Little-

page of his relief from his embarrassments, "on account of the kind interest you take in all my concerns." A letter preserved among his papers tells of Admiral Digby's keen desire to make his acquaintance and to introduce him to his family during his stay at this time in Paris. Other letters, from the Earl of Wemyss, belonging to an earlier period, show that there were a few enlightened Englishmen who did not share the national prejudice against him.¹ For the most part, however, according to the statement of André, his secretary, who afterward published the journal for Louis XVI, he lived in the greatest retirement. No trace exists in his papers of any relation at this time with the charming women of his earlier acquaintance in Paris. Madame Thilarié, now the wife of M. D'Esprèmesill, was already an exile at Havre, Madame Vigée-Lebrun, also absent, and Madam T—— and her child, wherever existing, had no longer a part in his life. One kind friend, Madam Clement, welcomed him to her home and to the circle of her acquaintances, among whom were three ladies, whose residence was at Trevoux, near Lyons.

A letter to Mesdames La Grande et Rinsby, written

¹The following agreeable lines from the pen of Fox show how that ardent American sympathizer regarded Jones:

"Epistle from the Right Honorable Chas. Jas. Fox, partridge shooting, to the Honble John Townsend cruising. London Faulder. 1779.

"Oft too while all around my pointers stray,
 With patriot names I cheer them on their way:
 No servile ministerial runners they!
 Not Ranger then but Washington I cry.
 Hey on! Paul Jones, reechoes to the sky.
 Toho! Old Franklin, Silas Deane take heed:
 Cheered with the sound o'er hills and dales they speed."

—*The Filkin's Note Books.*

in his always graceful style, gives his reasons for not accepting their invitation to visit them. His reference to "the nauseous draught of life" was the only too natural comment of his unhappiness:

PARIS, *February 2nd* 1791.

DEAR AND AMIABLE LADIES,

Madam Clement has read me part of a letter from you in which you conclude that I prefer love to friendship and Paris to Trevoux. As to the first part, you may be right, for love frequently communicates divine qualities, and in that light may be considered the cordial that Providence has bestowed on mortals to help them digest the nauseous draught of life. Friendship, they say, has more solid qualities than love. This is a question I shall not attempt to resolve but sad experience generally shows that where we expect to find a friend we have only been treacherously deluded by false appearances and that the goddess herself very seldom confers her charms on any of the human race. As to the second I am too much of a philosopher to prefer noise to tranquillity; if this does not determine the preference between Paris and Trevoux I will add that I have had very bad health almost ever since your departure, and that other circumstances have conspired to detain me here which have nothing to do with either love or friendship. My health is now recovering, and as what is retarded is not always lost, I hope soon to have the happiness of paying you my personal homage, and of renewing the assurances of that undiminished attachment which women of such distinguished worth and talents naturally inspire.

Madam La Grande replied in the following exceedingly sympathetic and charming letter:

TREVoux 6th March 1791.

SIR,

I had given up the hope of receiving any intelligence of your excellency and I acknowledge it cost me much before I could believe that the promise of a great man was no more to be relied upon than that of the herd of mankind. The letter with which you have honoured me convinces me that my heart knew you better than my head, for though my reason whispered that you had quite forgotten us I was unwilling to believe it.

Madam Wolfe, as well as myself is much concerned for the bad state of your health. I am sorry that, like myself, your excellency is taught the value of health by sickness. Come to us, Sir; if you do not find here the pleasures you enjoy in Paris, you will find a good air, frugal meals, freedom, and hearts that can appreciate you.

I am concerned to perceive that your excellency is an unbeliever in friendship. Alas! If you want friends who shall pretend to possess them! I hope you will recover from this error and be convinced that friendship is something more than a chimera of Plato.

Do me the favor to acquaint me with the time we may expect the honour of seeing you. I must be absent for some days, and would not for anything in the world that I should not be here on your arrival. If I knew the time I would send my little carriage to meet the stage coach, as I suppose you will take that conveyance. Madam Wolfe expects the moment of your arrival with as much eagerness as myself (she says) but as I best know my own feelings, I am certain I go beyond her. Of this I am certain, we shall both count the days until we have the happiness of seeing you. Come quickly then, I pray you.

Letters to his sisters, with whom he had for some time been in correspondence, in their unaffected kind-

ness, give the best evidence of his loyal sense of responsibility to his own people:

AMSTERDAM, *March 26th 1790.*

I wrote you, my dear friend, from Paris by Mr. Kennedy who delivered me the kind letter you wrote me by him. Circumstances obliged me to return soon afterwards to America, and on my arrival in New York, Mr. Thomson delivered me a letter that had been entrusted to his care by Mrs. Loudon. It would be superfluous to mention the great satisfaction I received in hearing from two persons I so much love and esteem, and whose worthy conduct as wives and mothers is so respectable in my eyes. Since my return to Europe, a train of circumstances and changes of residence have combined to keep me silent. This has given me more pain than I can express, for I have a tender regard for you both, and nothing can be indifferent to me that regards your happiness and the welfare of your children. I wish for a particular detail of their age respective talents, characters and education. I do not desire this information merely from curiosity. It would afford me more real satisfaction to be useful to their establishment in life. We must study the genius and inclinations of the boys and try to fit them by a suitable education for the pursuits we may be able to adopt for their advantage. When their education shall be advanced to a proper stage, at the school of Dumfries, for instance, it must then be determined whether it would be most economical and advantageous for them to go to Edinburg or France to finish their studies. All this is supposing them to have great natural genius and goodness of disposition, for without these they can never become eminent. For the females, they require an education suited to the delicacy of character that is becoming to their sex. I wish I had a fortune to offer

each of them, but though this is not the case I may still be useful to them. I desire particularly to be useful to the two young women who have a double claim on my regard as they have lost their father. Present my kind compliments to Mrs. Loudon, to her husband, to Mr. Taylor and your two families and depend on my affectionate attachment.

Write me without delay, and having sealed and directed your letter as you did the one you sent me by Mr. Kennedy, let it be enclosed in a cover and direct the cover thus. To Messrs Stophorst and Hubbard, Amsterdam. You will inquire if it be necessary to pay a part of the postage, in order that the letter may be sent to Holland in the packet. I should be glad if the two Miss Youngs would do me the favor to write me each a paragraph in your letter or to write me, if they prefer it each a separate letter, and I should be glad to find that they can understand and can write the French.

In another letter to his sisters he exhorts them with eminent tact to cease from dissension, showing that his own stormy experiences had taught him, although tardily, the wisdom of forbearance:

PARIS *December 27th 1790*

I duly received, my dear Mrs. Taylor, your letter of the 16th August, but since that time I have been unable to answer it, not having been capable to go out of my chamber and having been for the most part obliged to keep my bed. I have no doubt but that I am in a fair way of a perfect recovery, although it will require time and patience. I shall not conceal from you that your family discord aggravates infinitely all my pains. My grief is inexpressible, that two sisters whose happiness is so interesting to me, do not live together in that

mutual tenderness and affection which would do so much honour to themselves and to the memory of their worthy relations. Permit me to recommend to your serious study and application Pope's Universal Prayer. You will find more morality in that little piece than in many volumes that have been written by a great divine.

Teach me to feel another's woe,
To hide the fault I see,
That mercy I to others show,
Such mercy show to me.

This is not the language of a weak superstitious mind, but the spontaneous offering of true religion, springing from a heart sincerely inspired by charity, and deeply impressed with a sense of the calamities and frailties of human nature. If the sphere in which Providence has placed us as members of society requires the exercise of brotherly kindness and charity towards our neighbor in general, how much more is this our duty with respect to individuals with whom we are connected by the near and tender ties of nature, as well as moral obligation. Every lesser virtue may pass away, but charity comes from Heaven and is immortal. Though I wish to be the instrument of making family peace, which I flatter myself would tend to promote the happiness of you all, yet I by no means desire you to do violence to your own feelings by taking any step that is contrary to your own judgment and inclination. Your reconciliation must come free from your heart, otherwise it will not last, and therefore it will be better not to attempt it. Should a reconciliation take place, I recommend it of all things, that you never mention past grievances nor show by word or look or action that you have not forgot them.

Jones's remittances from America could not long have sufficed for his modest necessities, for on hearing that

the United States Government had resolved to establish consulates at the various European ports he applied to Mr. Short, then secretary of legation in Paris, for one of these posts. He wrote also to Mr. Carmichael in Madrid, enclosing his vindictory documents. "You will judge how unfortunate I was," he wrote in reference to Nassau, "in having to do with the greatest knight of industry under the sun, an enemy the more dangerous, as his ignorance, which has since appeared in such glaring colours to all Europe, had put me off my guard. Soon after I left Russia, I sent to the Empress my journal of the important campaign I commanded on the Liman, and before Oczakoff; but it contained such damning proofs against my enemies that it has undoubtedly been intercepted. As a sure occasion offers I shall write again next month and my letter will contain my resignation in case I receive no immediate satisfaction." In a postscript he asks: "Pray can you inform me whether anything efficacious is in agitation for the relief of our unfortunate countrymen at Algiers. Nothing provokes me so much as the shameful treatment they have so long experienced."

The subject of the Americans at Algiers was also taken up in the conclusion of a long letter to Jefferson, in which he said:

I continue to be sensibly affected by the situation of our poor countrymen at Algiers, the more so as I hear from the pirate now here, who took the greatest part of them, that if they are not soon redeemed they will be treated with no more lenity than is shown to other slaves.

Referring in this letter to his last communication to the Empress, he declared that he had a presentiment that Grimm's intervention would be futile, but that he could "prove to the world that his operations not only saved Kherson and the Crimea but decided the fate of the war."

Concealing Catherine's unflattering conclusions, Grimm unquestionably simply transmitted her message that she would communicate directly with Jones if she had need of his services, and all action was thus indefinitely postponed. But Grimm's delicate consideration of his feelings and the faint hope contained in her message, interpreted by Jones's undiminished attachment and his equally persistent ambitions, were enough to restrain him from publishing his journal or from sending in his resignation. Realizing, however, that no further communications were expected from him, he accepted at last the rôle of a silent petitioner, while inevitably under the ceaseless pressure of his unhappiness his bodily strength declined. In the beginning of the winter of 1792 his illness was aggravated by a lack of money so pressing that he was moved to address the minister of marine, M. Bertrand de Moleville, for the arrearages of pay still due to the officers and crew of the *Bon Homme Richard* from the French Government. Bertrand, after duly examining the records, admitted that a portion was still owing, but very discourteously demanded of Jones an account of the disbursement of the portion already remitted by the Maréchal de Castries. Jones composed a long and very indignant letter in reply to the minister, reviewing his services under

the French Government, but it was undelivered on account of the sudden resignation of the minister. He then indited the following letter to M. de la Coste, Bertrand's successor. The date of the month is not inserted, but it was probably the last effusion of his pen, the last in any case of his preserved papers:

PARIS *March* 1792.

SIR,

In the beginning of the administration of your predecessor, I informed him that this government not having paid the salary due to a part of the crew of the *Bon Homme Richard*, at the time when they were discharged from the service, they had been paid on their arrival at Boston; and having myself been sent back here after the war, under a special commission from the United States to settle the claims of my crews, I presented a memorial reclaiming that part of the salary that had never been reimbursed. The minister held me in suspense for about five months, and then, to my great surprise instead of satisfying my just demand, he addressed me a very uncivil letter, treating me as I conceive like a school boy and permitting himself to cast unjust and uncivil reflections on my past conduct. My health did not permit me to answer immediately; but I had prepared a letter and was just going to send it when I learned that he had resigned his place as minister of the marine, and that you were named as his successor. I request the favor, Sir, that you read this letter, and my answer; after which I persuade myself you will do justice to my first demand which is merely official. As to my personal pretensions, I never should have set up a claim on that score under circumstances less affecting to my sensibility. Of this I need offer on other proof than my silence for twelve years past.

My losses and unavoidable expenses during my long connection with this nation amount to a large sum and have greatly lessened my fortune. I have given solemn proofs of my great attachment towards France, and that attachment still remains undiminished. I persuade myself that I may with full assurance repose my interests through your ministry on the national justice. I have the honor to be &c.

The spring days brought no improvement in Jones's health, and in the beginning of May jaundice developed, followed by dropsy, to which he succumbed on the 18th of July, 1792.

Two years and a half he had combated the torture of his cruel disappointment, his ever-deferred and never-abandoned hope of a final recall to Russia. It is evident from the subjoined accounts of his last hours that he did not realize the proximity of death. His will was made only at the suggestion of his friends M. Beaupoil and Colonel Blackden, who had been watching with anxiety his increasingly critical condition, and signed when his extremities were already cold.

M. Beaupoil to Mrs. Taylor or Mrs. Loudon:

PARIS *July 19th, 1792.*

No 7 Htel Anglais

Passage des Petits Peres.

MADAM,

I am sorry to acquaint you that your brother Admiral Paul Jones my friend, paid yesterday the debt we all owe to nature. He has made a will which is deposited in the hands of Mr. Badinier, notary, St. Servin Street, Paris. The will was drawn in English by Mr. Gouverneur Morris, Minister of the United States, and trans-

lated faithfully by the French notary aforesaid. The Admiral leaves his property real and personal to his two sisters and their children. They are named in the will as being married one to William Taylor, and the other to Mr. Loudon of Dumfries. The executor is Mr. Robert Morris of Philadelphia. If I could be of any service in this business out of the friendship I bore your brother I would do it with pleasure. I am a Frenchman and an officer.

I am sincerely yours,

The English will is signed by Colonel Swan Blackden and myself. The schedule of his property lying in Denmark, Russia, France, America and elsewhere, is signed by Mr. Morris and deposited by me in his bureau with the original will. Everything is sealed up at his lodgings, Tournon St. No. 42 Paris.

You may depend also on the good services of Colonel Blackden who was an intimate friend of the admiral's. That gentleman is setting out for London, where you may hear of him at No 18 Great Tichfield St. London.

Colonel Blackden to Mrs. Taylor of Dumfries, eldest sister of Admiral Paul Jones:

GREAT TICHFIELD ST. LONDON

August 8th.

MADAM,

I had the honour of receiving your letter of the 3rd inst, and shall answer you most readily. Your brother, Admiral Jones was not in good health for about a year, but had not been so unwell as to keep house. For two months past he began to lose his appetite, to grow yellow and show signs of the jaundice, for this he took medicine, and seemed to grow better. But about ten days before his death his legs began to swell, which

increased upwards so that two days before his death he could not button his waist coat, and had great difficulty in breathing. I visited him every day and beginning to be apprehensive of his danger, desired him to settle his affairs, but this he put off, till the afternoon of his death, when he was prevailed upon to send for a notaire and made his will. Mr. Beaupoil and I witnessed it at about eight o'clock in the evening, and left him sitting in a chair. A few minutes after we retired he walked into his chamber and laid himself on his face on the bedside, with his feet on the floor. After the queen's physician arrived they went into his room and found him in that position and upon taking him up, they found he had expired. His disorder had terminated in dropsy of the breast. His body was put in a leaden coffin on the 20th, that in case the United States, whom he had so essentially served and with so much honor to himself, should claim his remains, they might be more easily removed.

This is all, Madam, that I can say concerning his illness and death. I most sincerely condole with you, Madam, upon the loss of my dear and respectable friend. For him I entertained the greatest affection, and as a proof of it you may command the utmost exertion of my feeble abilities, which shall be rendered with cheerfulness. I have the honor to be, madam, your most obedient and humble servant.

The simple sincerity of the letters of these obscure friends of Paul Jones, which relate the characteristic manner in which he met the last of his enemies, fully clad, on his feet, in the solitude of his chamber, is in strong contrast with the account left by Gouverneur Morris in his diary. Two entries relate the circumstances of Jones's death and the drawing up of his will.

A faint note of Morris's habitual irony, a trait so persistent that Washington thought it wise to warn him of the general criticism which it aroused, is observable in his record. Although he took pains to bring his friend Madam Flahaut and the Queen's physician to the dying man, the omission of any words of appreciation or praise of his character or career, the ill-concealed distaste for the intrusion of the distressing scene among the agreeable occupations of his day, is very significant of his worldly preoccupation:

This morning July 18th a message from Paul Jones that he is dying. I go thither and make his will, which the French-men will not witness. Send for a notary, and leave him struggling with his enemy, between four and five. Dine en famille with Lord Gower and Lady Sutherland. Go to the Louvre and take Madam Flahaut and Vic d'Azyr to Jones' lodgings, but he is dead, not yet cold. The people of the house ask me if they must put a scellé on his papers. I answer in the affirmative.

Letter from Gouverneur Morris to Robert Morris, quoted in the former's diary (vol. 2, pp. 43-46):

May (1793).

It is rather late now to mention Paul Jones, but I should have written to you about his death immediately if I could have gotten a copy of his will to transmit. I was promised from day to day, and at length the matter lay over, and since his relations have been here and have written to you. I drew the heads of his will, poor fellow, the day he died, and when his extremities were already cold. I called on him in the afternoon, with M Vinq d'Azyr, first physician to the queen, and he

was then a corpse. It was somewhat singular that he, who detested the French Revolution and all those concerned in it, should have been followed to the grave by a deputation from the National Assembly, and that I should have had in one of your gazettes, some very severe reflection on me for not paying him due respect; I, who during his life had rendered him all possible service and possessed his confidence to the last, so that he wished to name me with you for executor. But such is the world whose mistakes frequently amuse me, and on more serious occasions. Before I quit Paul Jones I must tell you that some people here who like rare shows wished him to have a pompous funeral, and I was applied to on the subject; but as I had no right to spend on such follies either the money of his heirs or that of the United States, I desired that he might be buried in a private and economical manner. I have since had reason to be glad that I did not agree to waste money of which he had no great abundance, and for which his relatives entertain a tender regard. I promised them to entreat your attention to their requests, which will no doubt be somewhat troublesome, and consume the moments you can badly spare. A preview of this made me desire Jones to think of some other executor, but the poor fellow was so anxious, telling me that as we alone possessed his full confidence he could not think of losing the aid of both, etc., and as what he said, beside his natural stammering, was interrupted by the strugglings against death, I was obliged to quit my opposition. Thus, my dear friend, I have given you a history which ought to have been communicated long ago. You will probably find it somewhat tedious now. . . .

The will of Paul Jones as prepared by Gouverneur Morris is as follows:

Before the undersigned notaries at Paris, appeared Mr. John Paul Jones citizen of the United States of America, resident at present at Paris, lodged in the street of Tournon, No 42, at the house of Mr. Dorberque, hussier audiancier of the tribunal of the third arrondissement, found in a parlor in the first story above the floor, lighted by two windows opening on the said street of Tournon, sitting in an arm chair, sick of body but sound of mind, memory and understanding, as it appeared to the undersigned notaries by his discourse and conversation. Who in view of death has made dictated and worded to the undersigned notaries, his testament as follows:

“I give and bequeath all the goods as well movable as heritable and all generally, whatever may appertain to me at my decease, in whatever country they may be situated, to my two sisters Janette, spouse to William Taylor, and Mary wife to Mr. Loudon, and to the children of my said sisters, to divide them into as many portions as my said sisters and their children shall make up individuals, and to be enjoyed by them in the following manner.

“My sisters, and those of their children who on the day of my death shall have reached the age of twenty one, will enjoy their share in full property from the date of decease. As for those of my nephews and nieces who at that period of time may not reach the age of twenty one years, their mothers will enjoy their shares till such time as they attain that said age with charge to them to provide for their food maintenance and education, and as soon as any of my nephews or nieces will have reached the age of twenty one years, the same will enjoy his share in full property.

“If one or more of my nephews and nieces should happen to die without children before having reached the age of twenty one, the share of those of them who

have deceased shall be divided between my said sisters and my other nephews and nieces by equal portions.

“I name the Honorable Robert Morris, Esq., of Philadelphia my only testamentary executor.

“I revoke all other testaments or codicils, which I may have made before the present, which I alone stand by as containing my last will.”

So made dictated and worded by said testator, to the said notaries undersigned and afterwards read and read over again to him by one of them, the other being present, which he well understood and persevered in at Paris, the year 1792 the 18th July about five o'clock afternoon, in the room heretofore described and the said testator signed the original of the present unregistered at Paris the 25th September 1792 by Defrance, who received one livre, provisionally save to determine definitively the right after the declaration of the revenue of the testator. The original remained with Mr. Pottier one of the notaries at Paris, undersigned who delivered these presents this day 26th September 1792 first of the French republic.

POTTIER.

Signed: AVERNIER.

Schedule of the property of Admiral Paul Jones as stated by him to me this 18th July 1792:

1. Bank stock in the Bank of North America at Philadelphia, 6000 dollars with sundry dividends.

2. Loan Office certificate left with my friend Mr. Ross of Philadelphia, for two thousand dollars at par, with great arrearages of interest being for ten or twelve years.

3. Such balance as may be in the hands of my said friend John Ross, belonging to me, and sundry effects left in his care.

4. My lands in the state of Vermont.
5. Shares in the Ohio Company.¹
6. Shares in the Indiana company.
7. About 1800 pounds sterling due to me from Edward Bancroft, unless paid by him to Sir Robert Herries, and is then in his hands.
8. Upwards of four years of my pension due from Denmark, to be asked for from the Count de Bernsdorf.
9. Arrearages of my pay from the Empress of Russia, and all my prize money.
10. The balance due to me by the United States of America, of sundry claims in Europe, which will appear from my papers.

This is taken from his mouth.

GOUVERNEUR MORRIS.

Although Gouverneur Morris had directed the person with whom he had lodged to have him buried privately and at the minimum of expense, Col. Blackden applied to M. Simmonneau, commissary of the section, to have him buried free of charge, in accordance with a formality still existing in regard to Protestants. When this request was read aloud to the National Assembly, M. Simmonneau, amid applause, announced his indignation that the American minister should have given such an order, declaring that a man

¹ An advertisement appeared in the American papers dated Marietta, May 20, 1796, giving information that John Paul Jones was a proprietor of five shares, or 5,867 acres, in a tract purchased by the Ohio Company in the United States, for which a deed would be given on the application of his heirs or representatives. This advertisement, at the request of the Earl of Selkirk, was sent to Mr. Taylor, of Dumfries. A note published in *The New York Herald* of 1910, from Marietta, Ohio, states that the attorney of Madam Gombault, great-grandniece of Paul Jones, resident, until her death in 1911, in Paris, had attempted to gain possession of the property.

who had rendered such signal services to France and America ought to have a public funeral, and offered, if America should refuse to meet the expense, to assume it himself. A letter written to the National Assembly by the then minister of justice M. Déjoly, dated July 22, 1792, and preserved in the National Archives of France, states that "M. Simmonneau has furnished the cost of the interment of Admiral Paul Jones, of which the bill amounted to 462 francs. This is an act of homage which he has rendered to the remains of this celebrated man."

That the memory of Jones's heroic deed was still alive in the memory of the French people was proved by the action of the National Assembly, which passed, on the 19th of July, the following resolution:

The National Assembly desirous of honouring the memory of Paul Jones Admiral of the United States of America, and to preserve by a memorable example the equality of religious rites, decrees that twelve of its members shall assist at the funeral rites of a man who has served so well the cause of liberty.

He was interred in the little Protestant cemetery at the corner of the Rue de la Grange aux Belles and Rue des Ecluses Saint Martin, then in the suburbs. The funeral took place on the 20th of July, and the following discourse was pronounced over his grave by M. Marron, a Protestant clergyman of Paris:

Legislators, citizens, soldiers, friends, brethren and Frenchmen, we have just returned to the earth the re-

mains of an illustrious stranger, one of the first champions of the liberty of America, of that liberty which so gloriously ushered in our own. The Semiramis of the north had drawn him under her standard, but Paul Jones could not long breathe the pestilential air of despotism, he preferred the sweets of a private life in France, now free, to the *éclat* of titles and honours which from a *usurped throne* were lavished upon him by Catherine. The fame of the brave outlives him, his portion is immortality. What more flattering homage could we pay to the name of Paul Jones than to swear on his tomb to live or to die free? It is the vow, it is the watchword of every Frenchman.

Let never tyrants nor their satellites pollute this sacred earth. May the ashes of the great man, too soon lost to humanity, and eager to be free, enjoy here an undisturbed repose. Let his example teach posterity the efforts which noble souls are capable of making, when stimulated by hatred to oppression. Friends and brethren a noble emulation brightens in your looks, your time is precious, the country is in danger. Who amongst us would not shed the last drop of their blood to save it? Associate yourselves to the glory of Paul Jones in imitating him in his contempt of dangers, in his devotedness to his country, in his noble heroism, which after having astonished the present age, will continue to be the object of the veneration of future generations.

The following extract from a travelling American's diary¹ records what must have been one of the very last of Jones's visits to the American embassy, and proves that a few at least of his countrymen, then in Paris, paid him this mark of respect:

¹ "My Scrap Book of the French Revolution," Thomas Waters Griffith Latimer.

In the spring of 1792 I left Havre for Paris. In Paris I went to lodge in a hotel, rather retired in the Rue Guenegard. I waited at once on Mr. Gouverneur Morris, the American Minister and met there among others, Commodore John Paul Jones, Joel Barlow the poet, James Mount Florence St. John de Crevecoeur, Esq. formerly consul of France in New York, and his son Otto, M. Ray de Chaumont and his lady formerly Miss Cox of Philadelphia, and Madam Lafayette, with some of her family, but the Marquis was already at the head of an army on the borders of the Rhine.

Commodore Paul Jones died in Paris soon after my arrival there, and I with the American gentlemen I have named and a small deputation from the National Assembly attended his funeral. His interment took place in one of the common cemeteries of the town, there was no priest, nor any funeral service, but a few soldiers fired a volley of muskets in honor of the naval hero over his grave.

Morris had friends to dinner¹ and did not attend the funeral of the man whom Franklin had relied upon as the chief weapon of the American forces in Europe, whom Jefferson had pronounced to be the "principal hope" of his countrymen in their struggle for independence, and the obsequies were conducted as a sort of side-show of the French Revolution by an orator as ignorant of his detestation of its principles and adherents as he was of the real cause of his premature death. The perverse fate which had relentlessly pursued Paul Jones from his cradle dealt him at his grave this last indignity.

¹ *Freeman's Journal*, December, 1792, contains an account of the funeral in which this fact is stated.

When the Empress of Russia heard from Grimm of his decease, and of the deputation of the French Assembly to his funeral, she wrote: "Paul Jones was a *mauvais tête*, and is worthy of being celebrated by a pack of *mauvais têtes*."

If the too frail tenement had harbored for only a few days longer its ardent tenant, Paul Jones would have been consoled and restored perhaps to health and further usefulness by the news, already on its way, that Congress had appointed him commissioner to treat with the Dey of Algiers on the subject of peace and the ransom of those unfortunate American captives for whose release he had so often petitioned. Jefferson's letter in answer to Jones's last on the subject, dated the 1st of June, and informing him that he had been chosen for this congenial service, must have reached Paris almost simultaneously with his death.

One mercy only was his in the manner and time of his death, in that he was spared the knowledge of the horrible fate of the good Duc de la Rochefoucauld, Comte D'Estaing, the Duc D'Orleans, Madame Thilarié, of the king himself who had so signally honored him, and many another of his friends.

Jones's request for arrears of pay from the French Government was finally honored by the National Assembly, before which Mrs. Taylor in person presented her claim, when in October, 1792, she made her perilous way into the French capital. She took possession of Jones's papers and personal effects, but was obliged to escape before the payment of the claim awarded by the Assembly. Three days only after she had left Paris

the proprietor of the Hôtel Anglais, where she had been stopping, was arrested and his effects seized. An Irishman who had acted as her *valet de place* as well as a friend with whom she had been daily associated during her stay in Paris were both guillotined.

Robert Morris, the executor of Jones's estate, was already insolvent, and performed no service for the heirs except to sell, for the purpose of satisfying his own creditors, the bank-stock of which he had become the trustee. The sword presented to Jones by Louis XVI, after much bitter family dissension, was sent to Morris, who sold it, or presented it to Barry, then the ranking officer in the navy.¹ Barry bequeathed it in his will,² without any direction as to its further disposition, to Richard Dale, whose descendants now possess it.

¹ Miss Taylor, in a document preserved in the Harvard Library, states that he sold it.

² Barry's will is in the possession of James Barnes, New York City.

CHAPTER XXVI

CHARACTER

No circumstance connected with the career of Paul Jones is more extraordinary than the general and persistent misapprehension of his character, not only in England, where he has undoubtedly been the best-hated of all its revolted subjects, but for many years in America itself. He has been called vainglorious by nearly every student-historian of his character.

A brief recapitulation of his acts and a review of his own expressions of opinion in regard to his merits will establish the fact that his original valuation of himself was not extravagant.

When he first entered the service of the Continental navy he was offered the commission of captain and the command of the *Providence*, but refused both, preferring, as he said, the position of first lieutenant on the flag-ship, as it would afford him opportunity to learn from his superior officers and to gain the experience which he considered he was then in need of. In the letter to Morris of the year 1783, in which he drew up his claim for reinstatement in rank, to be presented to Congress, he very frankly admits that when he first entered the navy he "found himself imperfect in his duties as lieutenant."

It was inevitable, when he found that no one in the service could teach him more than he already knew,

and when he rose by the force of his brilliant accomplishments to the leading place in the American navy, that he should have realized his superior ability; but when he was singled out by Congress for the command of the fleet he frequently avowed that the appointment was "very unexpected." When he was forced to abandon his high hopes and the wise plans he had conceived he accepted the disappointment with remarkable self-control, and made no reference to his accomplishments, or any claim that he of all others merited the distinction. This same restraint of expression in regard to his deprivation of promised commands is observable in each and every one of the ten instances in which he was thus disappointed in the course of his career, but restraint was emphatically wanting when he felt that injustice had been done to him, and this lack of control, increasing, as it did, under the repeated wrongs and even persecutions which fell to his lot, into persistent and even vociferous complaint, has naturally misled the students of his character. Paul Jones loved glory as Nelson loved it, openly, unblushingly, seeking it at the cannon's mouth, and restraint under the intolerable insult of degradation in rank was not to be expected of him. He possessed also, in common with Nelson, the habitual trait of the great sea-captain, the noble quality of candor, and was wont to express his feelings freely and with manifold variety and vigor. He was exceedingly sensitive, both in mind and in the body, which quickly felt the sufferings of its ardent tenant, and he was dangerously prone to brood over his misfortunes. This tendency was a natural and inevitable concomitant of the

mind of genius, and, as has been seen, nearly overwhelmed him in the long period of melancholy retirement which followed the mutiny at Tobago.

In the early period of his American service his loyalty to the cause he had adopted and his resentment at his supersedure in rank warred in his mind, producing a natural and very painful conflict. He was never again free, except for brief intervals, from a disposition to dwell upon his misfortunes, and it was the tragedy of his life that he was persistently followed by a train of events exactly calculated to develop this dangerous trait. This tendency was unquestionably the cardinal weakness of his character, not arising from vanity, the ignoble motive of a false and selfish nature, but from the natural resentment of an honest man, smarting under unquestionable injustice.

In a hundred scurrilous pamphlets his horrid deeds are falsely chronicled and in a hundred prints and engravings his earnest and distinguished face is vilely caricatured. He possessed not one trace of the brutal audacity and unprincipled bravado which belong to the character he popularly typifies. The mechanism of his nature, made of steel, was of a fine balance all his own, and motivated by the fire of genius. His soul, ardent as strong, was inflamed by an unlimited thirst for glory, but chivalry and loyalty were always in control, while often, and strangely to those who forget the exceeding kindness of his heart, the delicate responsiveness of his nature, he was clement when he should have been severe. This sensitiveness, allied with a wide and most genuine humanity, apparent always in his pity for the

state of his captive countrymen, explains his too great leniency with the half-mad Landais, his unfortunate temporizing with his treachery and criminality.

The irritability which he sometimes exhibited toward his subordinates was not an habitual trait, as is most clearly shown in the testimonial of Colonel Weibert. The crews of the *Alfred* and *Providence* adored him, as did the Russian seamen on the Black Sea. His French colleagues on the *Bon Homme Richard*, as well as D'Orvilliers, Vaudreuil, Vioménil, and the Duc de la Vauguyon, admired and esteemed him, and Richard Dale, according to Cooper, loved and regretted him to his latest breath. That he did not like the privateering crew of the *Ranger* is to his credit; they were indeed little adapted to assist in the glorious and romantic exploits into which their "too enterprizing captain" led them.

It has been said by Hawthorne that "there is nothing like recognition to make a man modest." This very truthful observation has never been more strikingly exemplified than in the case of Paul Jones. This is shown in the records of his attitude and demeanor written by Doctor Rush, who was acquainted with him in Philadelphia in the year 1781, at the time when he had been publicly thanked by Congress for his services in Europe; and by Madame Vigée-Lebrun, who knew him later as the special envoy of the United States for the recovery of the prize-money. To Hector McNeill, in an intimate letter written at the time when he was the object of the rapturous admiration of the Parisian public, he wrote that he believed no man had ever been so praised for a

small service as he had been. His ambition, frankly avowed, to write his name with honor in the page of history, was accomplished under difficulties and with means which make that accomplishment a unique example of personal character and ascendancy. His career furnishes the most striking example of a great reputation won by the sum of his possibilities rather than by accomplishment. His engagement with the *Serapis* remains a standard of comparison with all frigate duels in the history of naval warfare, and yet the hero of this unexampled exploit, the friend of Washington, Franklin, Morris, and Jefferson, the recipient of the thanks of Congress and of the decorations of two courts, is catalogued to this day in booksellers' lists among the buccaneers and pirates, and still is so categorized in the public press and opinion of England.

The faults of his character were the inevitable defects of its great qualities, and shrink, after a review of his life and deeds, to an exceedingly small compass. Intellectual power is not always displayed in the written word, or genius measured by creative output. Keen insight, rapid intuition, logical construction, were all possessed by Paul Jones, together with an intrepidity and a flexible brilliancy of imagination, expressing itself in a truly unparalleled resourcefulness in emergency, which places him among the great military leaders of history. In chivalry knightly, in loyalty unstained, in the study of his chosen profession serious and profound, he redeemed through years of fiercest trial and cruelest disappointment every youthful misdemeanor, and may well stand as an example to the new nation he helped to

found of the loftiest professional standards of character and effort. That he himself understood and commented upon his over-fondness for honors disarms the criticism he may possibly have deserved.¹

In the traits which characterize the ideal naval officer he resembles Nelson, who was, like Jones, quick to resent an affront and as quick to forgive. In the rapture of the strife he was, like Nelson, gay in demeanor and ideal in command. In idleness he was taciturn, falling, like Nelson, into uncontrollable discomfort and ill-health. "I have almost killed myself with grief," he wrote, while waiting for his command from the French Government. "In truth, I have been half-dead," Nelson declared in a like period of inaction. If Jones's desire for fame was infinite, so, to quote Lord Radstock, "a continual thirst for glory was raging within Nelson." If, again, Nelson despised to make his fortune out of his services to his country, so did Paul Jones give freely out of his little hoard to pay the crews of his ships. Sometimes the candor which characterized them both to an equal degree expressed itself in phrases which were almost verbally similar. "It was I who did this," they both wrote in letters and official reports—"It was I." The most that can be said about their statements of their personal deserts is that in no case were they ever in the least exaggerated. To the worship of love and glory, like knights of an earlier day, they were both dedicated. In the race for glory they both attained to

¹"You will discover that loving glory I am perhaps too much attached to honors, though personal interest is an idol to which I have never bowed the knee." (Paul Jones to the Baron Krudener, Copenhagen, April, 1788.)

their desire. Nelson in love committed the one folly of his great career, while Jones laid unavailingly at the feet of an ungrateful woman his military reputation, and died of his bitter grief, leaving undone the great work which would undoubtedly have been his to perform. Already selected by the government of the United States for the task of reorganizing the navy, if he had lived out his natural span he would not only have accomplished this great and congenial task, but would have had his glorious part in the war with the Algerines and taken his place among the heroes of the War of 1812.

Many of Jones's characteristic sayings deserve to be preserved:

I will not have anything to do with ships which do not sail fast, for I intend to go in harm's way.

I may not win success, but I will endeavor to deserve it.

I have ever looked out for the honor of the American flag.

I can never renounce the glorious title of a citizen of the United States.

This last profession, made on the eve of his services in Russia, was repeated by him in his dying moments when he appended to his will the signature, "Paul Jones, a citizen of the United States."

The vague and embarrassed asseveration to Lady Selkirk, that he was a citizen of the world and the general avenger of the wrongs of human nature, may be assigned to his desire to excuse his seeming disloyalty to his native land. The country of his "fond election" and of his deliberate and honorable adoption, may well

pardon this seeming disloyalty of word, in view of the glorious services he performed. Those services, during the unhappy last days of his life, he many times reviewed and estimated, leaving in the following phrases a summary which might well have been inscribed upon his monument:

In 1775, Paul Jones armed and embarked in the first American ship of war. In the Revolution he had twenty-three battles and solemn rencontres by sea, made seven descents in Britain and her colonies, took of her navy two ships of equal and two of superior force, many store ships and others, constrained her to fortify her ports, suffer the Irish volunteers, desist from the cruel burning in America and exchange as prisoners of war the American citizens taken on the ocean and cast into the prisons of England as traitors pirates and felons.

No notion of the unique place he was destined to occupy in history as the most renowned naval officer in the Revolution; no idea of his ultimate place as the pattern and hero of the American marine, haunted his dreams. That such a place and such an estimation are properly his due admits of no doubt, not only through a comparative valuation of his services in the earliest days of our national existence, but more through the inspiring influence of his character and his example.

To England and to her mistaken policy toward her transatlantic colonies America owes the heroic period in her history and her independence; to Scotland the foundation of her national government and naval power. As truly as Alexander Hamilton was the originator of the fiscal and administrative measures which

still control our national policy, so was Paul Jones the dominating figure in the infant navy and the counsellor of its governing body.

The Revolutionary struggle was an epic fought successfully to its glorious end by the exertions of a few great men who combined courage, patriotism, and constructive genius. Among these Paul Jones had his place. Called upon to fight the first maritime power in the world, he conceived and successfully executed the only aggressive policy possible to the absurdly inadequate forces of the colonies by the exercise of unique resourcefulness and indomitable energy. If by virtue of prior appointment he cannot be called the Father of the American Navy, he was the most conspicuous factor in its evolution, which he stimulated by the valor and brilliancy of his achievements and the wisdom and forethought of his suggestions to the Congressional Government. The inspiring genius of the service, he not only excelled all the other officers of that day by his victories in both American and European waters, but also by virtue of the invaluable experience and practical thought which he brought to bear upon the problems of its organization. The series of letters to Robert Morris, now published for the first time in their entirety, show to what extent he was responsible for the foundation of the infant navy. His lofty idealism and rare disinterestedness, no less valuable than his unusual common-sense, gave heart to the struggling government. His eloquent and manly phrases, enunciating the high standards of the ideal naval officer, are used to this day at Annapolis. In no detail was he negligent or

unwary; from the invention of the drill to the building of a vessel, his tireless activities were engaged. He never sailed a ship of war whose efficiency he did not improve, and in action he never suffered a defeat.

If he shared certain of the characteristic sailor qualities with Nelson, in native traits and constructive energy, in that *perfervidum ingenium Scotorum* which has been the mother element of so many heroes, he was still more like Alexander Hamilton.

Physically they were both possessed of vigor and elasticity, were slightly made and graceful, with the reddish blonde coloring of their race. They were both endowed with great mental powers and inspired with a wide prophetic vision, allied to the all-assimilative quality of genius, and thus gifted they grasped the inchoate elements of a new nation and gave them form. They were keenly responsive to the noble impulse of human liberty and became American, espousing the hopes and aims of the new republic with devotion and unequalled energy. Avid of glory, they have immortalized in their own names the cause of freedom and are both invested with the legend of romantic personal charm. Clear-visioned as they were sincere in their advocacy of the truest civic liberty, they belonged to the class of conservative republicans and were temperamentally as well as intellectually opposed to the unrestrained rule of the proletariat.

Inheriting the original fire and force of Highland blood, these two adventurers of glory were both destined to pass their early days in scenes of surpassing natural beauty, absorbing into the plastic essence of

their youthful minds the tropical glow of the West Indies. Hamilton's imagination first found expression in pages of eloquence about the region of his birth; and Paul Jones, also as a youth, in voyages on south-bound ships and long sojourns among the southern islands, developed the romance of his impassioned nature. A question of the legitimacy of the birth of both these Scotchmen has arisen. If to the warlike Highland stock, incarnate with an added impulse of vitality, America owes these two forces, ardent alike and irresistible in her nascent civilization, a reflection may arise as to the mysterious agencies at work in the great world plan, and a comparison as suggestive as it is remarkable. Contrasts, traceable to subsequent development of character and fortune, widely separate their later lives. A fatal lack of physical endurance, a failure in philosophy, combined with a truly perverse and pursuing fate, overwhelmed Paul Jones with disappointment and buried his ambitions and his possibilities of further usefulness in an untimely grave. Opportunity came with providential ease to the younger Hamilton, and in the high companionship of Washington and the happiest domestic associations his marvellous years grew to their full perfection, and when the cause of liberty was won the constructive statesman found the supreme possibility of service to the country of his adoption in the consolidation of its national government. Emerging from the unfortunate associations of a friendless and adventurous youth, Paul Jones wrested from reluctant fate the means to show his quality, but, with the advent of peace and the dissolution of the Revolu-

tionary navy, was sent by the American Government on tedious and unimportant financial missions to the courts of Europe, where he was ultimately forced to seek new fields for his unique fighting abilities and unrewarded opportunities of service in another cause.

Although both were cut off in mid-career, Hamilton saw his colossal work completed, but Paul Jones died of a broken heart at a moment when the American navy seemed to have sunk out of existence. Thwarted in life and dubbed through a century of prejudice and ignorance a renegade and pirate, his lofty aspirations and great imaginative qualities have been lost sight of, and his hard-won victories transmuted into crimes. Incomplete and fictitious biographies have distorted his character and deeds until this day, when at last a grateful country has rescued him from a nameless grave and given him his proper place among her heroes.

Pre-eminent among all the early defenders of America, Paul Jones fought her unequal battles and won a place for her among the powers of the world. For this the grateful government recorded its thanks in the most significant and glorious encomium ever passed upon him: "*He hath made the flagg of America respected among the flaggs of other nations.*"

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

A FELLOW-LODGER'S LETTER

DEAR SIR:—

I have gone through the life and character of Paul Jones by Mr. Sherburne which you kindly sent me. It appears to be as correctly given as the materials from which it is selected and the time which has elapsed since the circumstances occurred would permit.

If my memory is faithful, Commodore Jones told me soon after his return from Russia, that his parents were in obscure situations. That by accident he was known to the old late Duke of Queensbury, who introduced him in early life to a commander in the British Navy. That he was placed on board a British Man of War as acting midshipman, where he continued some time; how long I do not remember, but long enough to perceive that family interest had more influence than personal merit. His juniors were promoted while he remained unnoticed; this determined him to enter the merchant service where he continued until about two years before the Revolution commenced. So that at the time he engaged in our service he stood in the same position in regard to England with every native American. A recurrence to the correspondence of Lieutenant Jones with the Honorable Mr. Hewes I think will fully prove that he had previously received some education in the profession in which he so eminently distinguished himself during our Revolutionary War.

The circumstances attending his capture of the *Drake* appear to be nearly as he related them to me, and the description of the affair with the *Serapis* as far as it goes, seems to be correct. When fitting up the *Bon Homme Richard* every exertion was required to find men of any and every nation not interdicted by the Laws of France. The result was that he procured about 75 men who were, or called themselves Americans, and about 230 from all the nations of the earth. He then came to a stand with about 200 men short of the necessary complement, and the only expedient left was to address Mons. de Sartine—through

Dr. Franklin—for permission to recruit from the prisons where English sailors were confined. It was granted and he soon obtained a sufficient number to enable him to sail with about 500 men of this motley description. The various captures he made before he encountered the *Serapis* necessarily drew from his ship some officers and some of the small proportion of his crew in whom he placed confidence to man the prizes. He moreover had received nearly 200 prisoners on board his own ship. Thus situated, with at least 400 British subjects on board the *Bon Homme Richard* who had rather have blown Paul Jones out of water than the *Serapis*, he attacked and grappled that ship under such circumstances that neither of them could be disengaged until the termination of the battle. Before the close of it, the Master at Arms, against Jones' positive orders, released all the prisoners from their irons, and they went upon deck at one of the most critical moments of the action. The *Bon Homme Richard's* side next the enemy was entirely beat in, so that the prisoners could pass into the *Serapis* without difficulty. Paul Jones took a stand upon an Arm Chest on the quarter-deck at the commencement of the battle, which he did not quit until the end of it; therefore he could not tell whether the prisoners went on board the *Serapis* to assist Captain Pearson, or remained an encumbrance on board the *Bon Homme Richard*. He rather supposed that a part of them did both; but it being night it was difficult to ascertain the fact. Paul Jones told me that this was the only moment in which he felt alarmed for the event of the contest.

During the battle he received one small wound which he said "was not worth mentioning" and he found a hole in the skirt of his coat which appeared to have been made by a musket ball.

Upon a view of the crews of the *Bon Homme Richard* at the time she sailed from France; the captures he made before the attack upon the *Serapis*, and the surviving crew of that ship, it is pretty evident that the Commodore from the time the *Bon Homme Richard* sank until he anchored in the Texel with the *Serapis*, must have had 600 or 700 English subjects on board, and after deducting from his original stock of arms those that were necessary to man the prizes he had taken, and killed and wounded in the action with the *Serapis* it is probable that he had not more than about 40 Americans on board to participate with him in the shouts of joy which was expressed by almost all Europe.

When he arrived in Holland almost every man and child in

that country rushed into the streets singing "Paul Jones the Conqueror." This much from frequent conversations I had with the Commodore at the Hague and Amsterdam a few years after the battle.

I have been surprised at the English story of Paul Jones' fears of being intercepted by English ships, or of appearing in England after the peace; as I perfectly well remember, and I think it was about the year '86 or '87, meeting Commodore Jones in Cranborne Alley, Leicester Square, one of the most frequented places in London by all ranks from Prince to beggar; I saluted him; we walked some time together. We then entered a large boot shop and bought a pair of boots, and he desired the master to send them to his lodgings, at the same time giving his address thus:—"Captain Jones, Asburn's Hotel, Adelphi Buildings."

A search in the records of the admiralty office in London revealed the fact that acting-midshipmen in the British navy in the year 1760 were enrolled as seamen and their names not recorded.

APPENDIX B

JOHN PAUL JONES TO BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

Correspondence of Benjamin Franklin, Philadelphia
Philosophical Society. Vol. 13. Letter 176

L'ORIENT—*March 6th, 1779.*

HONORED AND DEAR SIR,

The mystery which you so delicately mention in your much esteemed favor of the 24th. Ult.—it has been my intention for more than Twelve Months past to communicate to you; which however I have put off from time to time on reflecting that the account must give you more pain than pleasure:—yet had I not, on my sudden departure from hence for Paris, inadvertently neglected to take with me the Original Paper wherof the inclosed is a Copy, I certainly should then have put it into your hands.—The subject at the beginning of the War was communicated to Sundry members of Congress among whom I may mention M^r. Hewes of N^o. Carolina and M^r. Morris of Philadelphia; and to various other persons in America before and since.—It was the advice of my friends, Gov^r. Young among many others, when that great Misfortune of my Life happened, that I should retire Incog to the continent of America, and remain there until an Admiralty Commission should arrive in the Island, and then return.—I had waited that event Eighteen Months before Swords were drawn and the Ports of the Continent were Shut. It had been my intention from the time of my misfortune to quit the Sea Service altogether, and, after Standing Trial, as I had the means, to purchase some small tracts of Land on the Continent, which had been my favorite Country from the age of thirteen, when I first saw it.—I had settled my future plan of retirement in “calm contemplation and Poetic ease.”—But the revolution in America deranged every thing—and the person with whom I had *in Trust* left a considerable part of my Effects in the West Indies, had, while the ports were open shewn very little inclination to make me proper Remittances.—Many of my friends had expressed their fears

that he meant to abuse my confidence and take advantage of my situation. Among these I can mention a person whom I very much esteem, and who has always expressed great Obligation to you. I mean Doctor John K. Read of Goochland County Virginia. I was not however Undeceived until after the Ports were Shut.

I had made the art of War by Sea in some degree my Study, and been fond of a Navy from my boyish days up.—Knowing the perfidy and ingratitude of Dunmore, as soon as an expedition was adopted against him from Philadelphia by Sea, I had the honor to be appointed Senior Lieutenant in the Navy of the Colonies which was then established under Hopkins.—I need not observe that as I had not then heard the doctrine of Independence even in a whisper, and as the Pamphlet called common Sense did not appear till a considerable time afterwards, I could have no Views of protection from a new Government, and therefore as I adhered to my first resolution of returning to the West Indies, to Stand Trial, and to Settle my affairs there as soon as peace should be restored to the Continent, it was the advice of my friends that I should till that wish'd event might be brought about, remain Incog.—Within a few Months after my first appointment as a proof of the public approbation of my conduct, I had the honor to receive a Captain's Commission, without my having either said or written a single word in my own favor to any person either in or out of Congress.—In the Character of an American Officer, I think you are convinced that Gain has not been the object of my pursuit.—I shall say nothing either of my Abilities (if I have any) or of my Services.—I have received no pecuniary gratification whatsoever, not even the expenses of my daily Dinner, from the publick Funds.—On the contrary I have disbursed for the publick Service, when our prospects were at the worst, considerable Sums of my private fortune, which has never yet been repaid.—But I have always acknowledged that Congress have far more than rewarded my poor endeavours; by the generous and Unsolicited attentions, and by the Confidential preferences which I have so often had the honor to experience in their appointments; and I hope, at least, never to tarnish the honor of the American Flag.

It may be said that I have been Unfortunate—but it cannot be made appear that I have ever, even in the weakest Moment of my Life been capable of a Base or a Mean Action.—Nature has kindly given me a Heart that is highly susceptible of the

finer feelings—and I have endeavoured to watch over the happiness of my poor Relations *Unseen*.—For that purpose I sent several little remittances (Bills) from America *in Trust* to a very worthy friend of mine Captain Plaince of Cork, to be applied for their Use without their having the pain of knowing from whence:—But to my great Sorrow I find they have all miscarried—the letters that contained them some of them having been Sunk, the rest taken on the passage.—I brought no funds with me to Europe and since my Arrival in it you know that my hands have been Tied.—My Will, now in the hands of Mr. Morris, will evince that I have not been Unmindful of the duties which I owe to Nature—and, were it equally in my power, I think Pope himself could not have taken more pleasure than I should “to Rock the Cradle of declining Age”.—

In short, however chequered my fortune may have been, I feel no Sentiment in my Breast that can ever make me wish to conceal any event of my Life from persons of Candor and Ingenuity—therefore you are at perfect liberty to communicate my Story to whom you think proper, and particularly to Doctor Bancroft.—I am, and shall be always, ready to give you every explanation that you can require.

With respect to Lord Selkirks plate, it is my wish to restore it to *the Lady* from whom it was taken.—When I wrote to her I expected that the plate had been of far more Value than it really is—But since you agree to restore the One half in the Name of the Continent—and as I feel myself above the Idea of receiving any profit from such a Pillage—I hope Lord Selkirk will gratify me so far as to suffer the Plate to be restored.—I claim no merit in this, nor has it been my intention to attract his notice either by my history or otherwise, except only as far as he might have been concerned in my Scheme of bringing about an Exchange of Prisoners.—If however his delicacy will not suffer him to receive what he thinks an Obligation from me—it will be no difficult matter to point out to him, if he should be at a loss, how to discharge that Obligation.—How Lord Selkirk came to renew his correspondence with M^r. Alexander, and on that particular Subject too, appears to me rather Surprising.—While I was at Passy in the Summer, M^r. Alexander asked me several questions about the landing on S^t. Mary’s Isle—to gratify him I showed him a Copy of my letter to the Countess.—He invited me to dine with him and said “he would keep the Copy among the Papers which he most esteemed”—I remember also that in the course of the day he

complained that Lord Selkirk had taken great offence at some freedom of Sentiment which had marked his letters, and that in consequence they had not corresponded for a great while past.—I remember too that he has frequently, by appearing to disclose his own Plans in some Measure, endeavoured to fish out mine.—M^{rs}. Amiel has told me often that he is my Enemy.—Yet, why he should be so I cannot imagine, as I never gave him Cause.—But this I know, that let them place round me as many Spies as they please—as I have no Confidants near me, and as I do not keep my intentions by me in Writing, they cannot betray my Councils—and I may yet appear in a quarter of the Globe which they little imagine.

The inclosed little correspondence between M^r. Schweighauser and myself on the Subject of the Plate I send you to show that he makes difficulties where there are none.—You will perhaps see fit to send him Orders in consequence, as I have not to this moment rec^d. payment of my claim to the Prizes which have been in his hands.

Mr. Williams did me the honor to show me the first paragraph of your letter to him on the Subject of your Appointment as sole American Ambassador at the Court of Versailles.—I believe that appointment to have been Unsolicited on your part, and I am sure that you are Above writing any thing that could tend either to Magnify the Merit of your own Services or to diminish that of others.—In the fullness of my heart I congratulate you on your well merited appointment, and I trust you will believe me that I do now and ever shall rejoice in every circumstance that tends to the honor or happiness of a great and good Man, who has taught me as well as his Country to regard him with a Veneration and Affection which proceeds directly from the Heart, and that is due only to the best of Friends.

The outfit of the *Poor Richard* has engaged my whole attention since I returned here.—I received this day 33 Seamen from Brest, and Volunteers for Soldiers enlist with me daily to Serve for three years or during the War.—I have found several, and hope soon to have a full set of Brave and deserving Men, for Officers.—their Names &^{ca}. I will send up to you.—I find myself under the necessity of taking a Journey to Bordeaux to give directions about the set of Cannon that are to be made there for the *Poor Richard*.—I shall set out after to Morrow, and as I return immediately, may I hope to be favored with a letter from you to meet me at Nantes on my way Back.

I hope nothing will prevent Doctor Bancroft from going to England on the Exchange of Prisoners.

I am with grateful and real Affection and respect

Honored and dear Sir,

Your very Obligated

very Obedient

very humble Servant

JN. P JONES.

The Master of a West India Ship from London had occasion to ship sundry Seamen at the Island where he Loaded—One of whom in particular behaved himself very ill—He was a principal in Embezzling the Masters Liquors—He got frequently Drunk—He neglected and even refused his duty with much insolence.—He stirred up the rest of the Crew to act in the same manner and was their avowed Ringleader.

As the Masters engagements were of such a Nature that his all depended upon despatch, he gave his Crew every reasonable Encouragement.—They had plenty of good Provision and were in other respects well Used.—Notwithstanding of which one forenoon when the Master came on Board that the Crew had formed or were then forming a plot to desert the Ship.—As the Master was walking aft the Ringleader rushed up from the Steerage and stopped with the grosest abuse that Vulgarism could dictate because, as he pretended, the Master had sailed his ship fourteen Months without paying wages.—The fellow having some time before complained that he wanted Cloaths, the Master now gave him Frocks and Trowsers telling him to go about his duty and to inform himself better—for that what he had said was not so.—But mildness had no good effect, for while the Master was distributing Cloathing to some of the rest who were also in want, the first conveyed his things into the Boat and another of the Crew was following his example, till observing that the Master had an Eye upon their proceedings, they Sneaked back into the Ship.—They remained quiet for a short space—But the Ringleader soon broke out again with Oaths and insisted on having the Boat and quitting the Ship.—This the Master Refused, but offered to give up his agreement if a Man could be found to serve in his Room. The disturber swore with horrid imprecations that he would take away the Boat by force!—and for that purpose actually rushed over the Gangway, bidding the Master the most contemptuous defiance!—Upon the Masters stepping up to prevent this, the

Man (having thrice his strength) leapt into the Ship and forced him into the Cabin, Using at the time language and attitudes too indecent to be mentioned, and charging him not to Shew his Nose upon Deck again till the Boat was gone at his utmost Peril.—The Master searched the Cabin for a Stick, but not finding one, and his Sword, by chance being on the Table, he took it up in hopes that the sight of it would intimidate the Man into Submission.—The Man had by this time descended the Gangway within a Step of the Boat, so that it would have been impossible to prevent his Elopement had he persisted.—But he now reentered the Ship breathing Vengeance, and, totally regardless of the Sword, tho within its reach, turned his back towards the Master, ran on the Main Deck, Armed himself there with a Bludgeon, with which he returned to the quarter Deck and attacked the Master.—The Master was thunder struck with surprise, for he had considered the Man's ravings as the natural effect of disappointed Rage which would soon subside of itself.—But now his sole expedient was to prevent bad consequences by returning again to the Cabin;—and this he endeavoured to do as fast as possible by retiring backwards in a posture of defence.—But alas! What is human foresight.—The After Hatchway was Uncovered and lay in a direct line between the Master's back and the Cabin door, but the Momentary duration of the attack did not admit of his recollecting that circumstance before his heel came in contact with the Hatchway, which obliged him to make a Sudden Stop.—Unhappily at that instant the Assailants Arm being heigh raised, he threw his Body forward to reach the Master's head with the descending Blow the fatal and Unavoidable consequence of which was his rushing Upon the Swords Point.

After this Melancholy accident the Master went Publicly to a Justice of the Peace and Offered to Surrender as his Prisoner.—The Justice, who called himself the Masters friend, persuaded him to withdraw and said it was unnecessary to Surrender before the day of Trial.—and the rest of the Masters friends who were present forced him to Mount his Horse.

Two weeks before this the Chief Mate had been for the first time in his Life advanced to that Station—and yet unworthy as his conduct had been in it he now openly arrogated his Unblushing pretentions to the Command, and to attain it associated with the Crew. The Testimony of such a combination may easily be imagined, conscious as they were of having embezzled the Masters property they were not likely to dwell on any

circumstance that Manifested their own dastardly and Undutiful Conduct.—And as the Second Mate, a young Gentleman of worth lay sick as well as all the inferior Officers and best disposed of the Crew, in all human probability the Truth could not escape the grossest perversion.—Besides the Nature of the Case Subjected it to the cognizance of a Court Martial—and there was no Admiralty Commission then in the Government.—For these obvious reasons the Masters friends constrained him for a time to leave the Country.

NB. The foregoing has been written in great haste to save the Post.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN TO JONES

PASSY, *March 14, 1779.*

DEAR SIR

I yesterday rec'd your favour of the 6th inst. I did not understand from M. Alexander that Lord Selkirk had any particular Objection to receiving the Plate from You. It was general, that tho' he might not refuse it if offer'd him by a public Body, as the Congress, he cou'd not accept it from any private Person whatever. I know nothing of M. Alexander's having any Enmity to you, nor can I imagine any Reason for it. But on the whole it seems to me not worth your while to give yourself any farther Trouble about Lord Selkirk. You have now the Disposal of what belongs to the Congress; and may give it with your own Share, if you think fit, in little Encouragements to your men on particular Occasions.

I thank you for your kind Congratulations on my particular Appointment. It will give me more Satisfaction if it enables me to be more useful.

We cou'd not obtain a Passport for Dr Bancroft. We were told it was needless, as the Cartel Ship was actually sail'd for Plymouth to take in the first 100 Americans to be brought to Nantes or l'Orient. Inclos'd is a Copy of a Letter from the Board to M. Hartley. I wish they may be arriv'd and that you may obtain such of them as you think proper. Possibly the *Alliance* which wants Hands may endeavour to engage some. Mr. Adams goes over in her; and I must not interfere, but leave you to scramble for the Men. I think, however, that if the Cartel comes to l'Orient you will have the best Chance.

I have look'd over the Copy of my Letter to you of Feb^y 24, not being able to imagine what Part of it could give you the

Idea that I hinted at an Affair I never knew. Not finding anything in the Letter, I suppose it must have been the Postscript of which I have no Copy, and which I know now that you could not understand—tho' I did not when I wrote it. The story I alluded to is this: L'Abbé Rochon had just been telling me & Madame Chaumont that the old Gardiner & his Wife had complained to the Curate, of your having attack'd her in the Garden about 7 o'clock the evening before your Departure, and attempted to ravish her relating all the Circumstances, some of which are not fit for me to write. The serious Part of it was y^t three of her Sons were determin'd to kill you, if you had not gone off; the Rest occasioned some Laughing; for the old Woman being one of the grossest, coarsest, dirtiest & ugliest that we may find in a thousand, Madame Chaumont said it gave a high Idea of the Strength of Appetite & Courage of the Americans. A Day or two after, I learnt y^t it was the femme de Chambre of Mademoiselle Chaumont who had disguis'd herself in a Suit, I think, of your Cloaths, to divert herself under that Masquerade, as is customary the last evening of Carnival: and that meeting the old Woman in the Garden, she took it into her Head to try her Chastity, which it seems was found Proof.

As to the unhappy Affair of which you give me an Acc^t, there is no Doubt but the Facts being as you state 'em, the Person must have been acquitted if he had been tried, it being merely *se defendendo*.

I wish you all imaginable Success in your present Undertaking, being ever with sincere Esteem, etc.

(B. FRANKLIN.)

APPENDIX C

TESTIMONY OF DESCENDANTS OF WILLIE AND ALLEN JONES REGARDING PAUL JONES'S ADOPTION OF THEIR NAME

The most direct as well as the most authoritative witness in regard to the association of John Paul with Willie Jones is Colonel Cadwallader Jones, of Rockhill, South Carolina, who has left in the genealogical record of his family, written and published in 1899, the statement that the illustrious Paul Jones adopted his name from his great-uncle, Willie Jones, in token of his gratitude for the many benefactions received at his hands. Cadwallader Jones lived until he was ninety, in the full possession of his faculties, and at the request of his family prepared this record, in which he put down the facts known to him in regard to his distinguished ancestors.

Mrs. Willie Jones long survived her husband, and resided at "The Grove" until her death. Cadwallader Jones as a child spent long months with his great-aunt, who repeatedly told him the story of how the famous Paul Jones had been befriended by her husband and had been received in their home. Besides the authoritative and direct testimony of Colonel Cadwallader Jones there are many corroborative statements from other lineal descendants of the family, as well as credibly reported confirmations from contemporaries. Miss A. J. Robertson, a great-granddaughter of Allen Jones, contributed an article to *The American Monthly Magazine* of November, 1899, not only stating the traditional fact of Jones's adoption of their name, but adding the interesting account of a conversation which took place in Washington, in the year 1848, between Mr. Loudon, nephew of Paul Jones, and the wife of Honorable

E. W. Hubbard, member of Congress from Virginia. Mr. Loudon was in Washington awaiting the long-delayed award of the claim for prize-money due from the government to Paul Jones. Mrs. Hubbard was a granddaughter of Willie Jones; she stated the facts of Jones's association with her family, and the account as she had herself heard it from her grandparents, that he had adopted the name of her great-grandfather out of gratitude for his services to him. Mr. Loudon admitted the veracity of her statements, and added that in the possessions of his uncle inherited by his mother and aunt there existed a portrait of Allen Jones. In a letter dated 16th December, 1844, from Charleston, S. C., Mr. Loudon states categorically that he took his name from Allen Jones. This letter was contained in an article contributed by Stephen B. Weeks to a periodical called *The Southern History Publication*, in July, 1906.

Mrs. Hull, a descendant of Allen Jones, now resident in Tuxedo, New York, stated to the writer that she had heard the facts in regard to Paul Jones's connection with her family many times related by her grandmother, Mrs. Long. This lady, who lived to a great age, was left an orphan very early and spent her childhood at Mount Gallant, the home of her grandfather. Her recollections were positive in regard to this many-times-attested fact.

Mr. Junius Davis, of Wilmington, North Carolina, who has contributed a careful study of this subject to *The South Atlantic Quarterly* of 1905, states that his father, Honorable George Davis, told him it was a fact, in universal credence among the men of his generation, that John Paul met Willie Jones in Halifax soon after his arrival in Virginia; that he paid him a long visit at "The Grove," and that in token of his affection for him and his brother had added their name to his own. Mr. George Davis is the authority for the statement that "Paul Jones adopted this name because he had none of his own of which he could be proud," his informant being the person to whom Jones originally made the remark.

It is related in Wheeler's "History of North Carolina," that

Paul Jones had a special reverence and regard for the wife of his benefactor, Willie Jones. This could not have been the case, for Paul Jones, leaving North Carolina for good in the spring of 1775, never knew Mrs. Willie Jones as the wife of his benefactor, as she was not married until June 27, 1776. This is the date given by Cadwallader Jones in his carefully prepared genealogy of the family, and his statement is in all probability entirely authentic and reliable.

In a description in regard to "The Grove" contributed by Colonel Burgwyn, of Raleigh, to *The North Carolina Booklet*, the author assigns this as the date of the marriage, on the authority of Mrs. Alston, granddaughter of Allen Jones. There is a tradition that Mary Montfort was only sixteen when she was married to Willie Jones, which would put the date of the marriage as far back as 1771; but the record of the birth of his children, contained in Willie Jones's will, supports the statement of Cadwallader Jones, that the first child was not born until 1779. The phrase in Doctor Read's letter referring to "the many hours which he and Paul Jones passed 'solitarily enough' in each other's company at 'The Grove'" would not indicate that the home of their hospitable host was at that time presided over by a lovely young wife with her flock of little children. It would seem, on the contrary, to point to the fact that "The Grove" was at that time a bachelor's abode, and, when the busy host left home in the morning to attend to his affairs, that the two guests were left to themselves to spend long days in each other's companionship.

Mrs. Willie Jones is mentioned in Ellet's "Women of the Revolution" with the warmest praise. She was, according to this account, exceedingly lovable, charitable, patriotic, and as witty as she was beautiful. The chroniclers of North Carolina, not particularly accurate as to dates, have made an agreeable romance of Paul Jones's devotion to this charming lady. He undoubtedly knew her well during his stay in North Carolina, for her father was already the guardian of her future husband, and the relations of Montfort House and "The Grove" were

necessarily very intimate; but as the mistress of the latter house she was never known to Paul Jones.

Madame Gombault, great-granddaughter of Mrs. Loudon, who was the sister of Paul Jones, and who died in Paris in the year 1912, has stated to Mrs. Robertson that Paul Jones had been befriended by Allen Jones. Madame Gombault inherited various of the papers and personal effects of Jones. A copy of the collection of "Pièces Justificatives," attached to Jones's journal of his Russian campaign, was sold by her, together with a sword, an illuminated copy of the coat of arms adopted by Jones after he was decorated by the French Government, and a few letters, to General Samuel Lawrence and by him presented to the Masonic Temple in Boston. Madame Gombault's grandson, Georges Duval, the last and only surviving descendant of Jones's immediate family, has been recommended by Mrs. Robertson to the care of the Society of the Cincinnati, of which Jones was a member, and his appointment to Annapolis is now under consideration by the navy department.

Thomas Chase, in his narrative describing Paul Jones's visit to Martha's Vineyard in 1773, says: "The captain announced himself as Paul Jones." This visit of course took place two years before John Paul adopted the name of Jones; but Chase's narrative was written many years after the visit to Martha's Vineyard, when Chase himself was an old man and at a time when the admiral was known only as Paul Jones. The statement in regard to his name was probably due to some confusion of memory on the part of Chase.

APPENDIX D

THE FIRST AMERICAN FLAG

Various traditions purport to tell the story of the making of the first flag which bore the stars and stripes. The best authenticated come from the descendants of Betsey Ross, of Philadelphia, who assert that she made it at the suggestion and under the directions of Washington. Another Philadelphia legend claims that it was made by a Mrs. Austin, of that city. A. C. Buell in his "Life of Paul Jones," narrates still another story regarding its construction by a company of Portsmouth maidens which he called the "Helen Seavey Quilting Party." Mr. Buell narrates that the young bride, Helen Seavey, sacrificed the blue breadths of her wedding-gown to make the field of the banner. The names of other members of other well-known Portsmouth families were also given as having assisted in the making of the flag. Present residents of that colonial town who have carefully investigated birth records and historical authorities, have declared they have been unable to find that any of these patriotic maidens ever existed in the flesh, or that the quilting party ever took place. The flag, however made, and whenever for the first time displayed, was not hoisted by Paul Jones at the mast-head of the *Ranger* on the 4th of July, 1777, as stated by Mr. Buell, for the reason that Jones was in Boston on that day. In this connection it is proper to print Mr. Buell's own letter in regard to the origin of the story he had promulgated. This letter was written to Mr. George Canby, of Philadelphia, a grandnephew of Betsey Ross, and author of a small volume containing letters and other confirmatory documents in regard to Mrs. Ross's construction of the flag. Mr. Canby attempted to interview Mr. Buell in regard to the authorities he possessed, which might substantiate his story on the

making of the flag in Portsmouth, particularly desiring to see the "journal" of Elijah Hall, who was second lieutenant on the *Ranger*, which included an alleged speech of Paul Jones, said to have been made at a banquet in the town hall of Portsmouth in the year 1781. In this speech Jones was said by Buell to have referred to the flag made for him by the "dainty hands of the Portsmouth maidens." Mr. Buell wrote Mr. Canby as follows. The letter appeared in the columns of a Portsmouth newspaper, in a communication from Mr. Canby.

THE WILLIAM CRAMP AND SONS SHIP AND ENGINE BUILDING
COMPANY,
Office Beach and Ball Streets,
PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 4, 1901.

MY DEAR MR. CANBY:—

I have received your letter of the first instant. I have been intending to call upon you ever since you did me the honor to visit me at my house, but have not as yet found time.

The only copy that I have of the article printed in *The Times* concerning the Stafford flag is in my scrap book. But I have the date of the paper and will write to *The Times* office and if possible obtain another copy.

With regard to the papers of Elijah Hall, I have gone over all my original notes—that is, all that I have saved of them, and I cannot find anything to indicate exactly where his (these ?) could now be found. In fact all that I ever saw of them was in his journal and two letters written by him, all in manuscript. This was fifteen years ago—in 1886. They were then in the possession of a descendant of his, an elderly maiden lady named Sherburne, who, as well as I can remember, resided in Dover, N. H.

As to the making of the flag for the *Ranger*, Hall only referred to it in a single sentence. The detailed story was told to me by Miss Sherburne orally, as a family tradition. My impression is that Miss Sherburne was a granddaughter of Dorothy Hall, Elijah's daughter (niece), who is mentioned in the foot-note.

The fact is that when compiling the matter for my history I never had any idea of being made a defendant in the premises or being called upon to prove anything by proffer of original documents. Indeed, I was not at that time sure that I would ever publish it. As a result I was careless about preserving the documentary evidence.

For this reason about all I can do now is to say those who take sufficient interest in my statements to read them must accept them as authority as far as I am concerned without going behind the returns.

I am well aware that in such a work as that in which you are engaged, documentary proof, even to photograph copies of original papers, is desirable, if not essential. In this particular case I do not see how I can help you in that direction, a situation which let me assure you I regret exceedingly.

Very truly yours,

AUGUSTUS C. BUELL.

I have been unable to find any trace of the Miss Sherburne he refers to as the authority for his story of the making of the flag, nor of the "Dorothy Hall" whose granddaughter he stated her to have been.

A flag now preserved in Washington, belonging originally to Lieutenant Stafford, is claimed by his descendants to have been the flag used by Jones on the *Ranger* and afterward on the *Bon Homme Richard*. It was probably never used on either ship, certainly not on the *Bon Homme Richard*, for Jones states in his account of his engagement with the *Serapis* that he lost all his flags, except a box of signals.

That the stars and stripes were probably used for the first time at Fort Stanwix on August 6 is proved by a letter from Abraham Swartout to General Peter Gansevoort. The letter bears the date of August 29, 1778, and states that "agreeable to your promise, I was to have an order for eight yards of Broadcloth in lieu of my Blue coat, which was used for colors at Fort Schuyler (Fort Stanwix)."

APPENDIX E

CONCORDAT MADE BETWEEN CAPTAIN JOHN PAUL JONES AND THE OFFICERS OF THE SQUADRON

Agreement between Messieurs John Paul Jones captain of the *Bon Homme Richard* Pierre Landais captain of the *Alliance*, Dennis Nicholas Cottineau captain of the *Pallas*, Joseph Varage captain of the *Stag*, and Philip Nicholas Ricot captain of the *Vengeance*, composing a squadron that shall be commanded by the oldest officer of the highest grade and so in succession in case of death or retreat. None of the said commanders while they are not separated from the said squadron by order of the minister shall act but by virtue of the brevet which they shall have obtained from the United states of America, and it is agreed that the flag of the United States shall be displayed.

The division of the prizes to the superior officers and crews of said squadron shall be made agreeable to the American laws; but it is agreed that the proportion of the whole coming to each vessel in the squadron shall be regulated by the minister of the Marine Department of France and the Minister Plenipotentiary of the United states of America.

A copy of the American laws shall be annexed to the present agreement after having been certified by the commander of the *Bon Homme Richard*; but as the said laws cannot foresee or determine as to what may concern the vessels and subjects of other nations, it is expressly agreed that whatever may be contrary to them may be regulated by the Minister of the French Marine and the Minister Plenipotentiary of the United states of America.

IT is like wise agreed that the orders given by the Minister of the French Marine and the Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States shall be executed. Considering the necessity there is of preserving the interests of each individual the prizes that shall be taken shall be remitted to the orders of Mon. Le Ray de Chaumont, honorary intendant of the Royal Hotel of Invalids who has furnished the expenses of the armament of the said squadron.

IT has been agreed that M. le Ray de Chaumont be requested not to give up the part of the prizes coming to all crews and to each individual of the said squadron but to their order, and to be responsible for the same in his own and proper name.

Whereas the said squadron has been formed for the purpose of injuring the common enemies of France and America, it has been agreed that such armed vessels whether French or American may be associated there with by common consent, as shall be found suitable for the purpose and that they shall have such proportion of the prizes which shall be taken as the laws of their respective countries shall allow them.

IN case of the death of any of the before mentioned commanders of vessels, he shall be replaced agreeably to the order of the tariff with liberty however for the successor to choose whether he shall remain on board his own vessel and give up to the next in order the command of the vacant ship.

IT has moreover been agreed that the commander of the *Stag*, shall be excepted from the last article of this present agreement because in case of a disaster to M. de Varage he shall be replaced by his second in command and so on by the other officers of his cutter the *Stag*.

J. PAUL JONES.
PR. LANDAIS.
DE COTTINEAU.
DE VARAGE.
LE RAY DE CHAUMONT.
P. RICOT.

APPENDIX F

LETTER OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN PURPORTING TO BE THE COMPOSITION OF PAUL JONES¹

[Copy]

MR. WILLIS,

Please to insert in your useful paper, the following copy of a letter, from Commodore Jones, directed

To &c. &c.

IPSWICH, NEW ENGLAND,
March 7, 1781.

SIR,

I have lately seen a memorial, said to have been presented by your Excellency to their high mightinesses the States General, in which you are pleased to qualify me with the title of *pirate*.

A pirate is defined to be *hostis humani generis*, [an enemy to all mankind]. It happens, Sir, that I am an enemy to no part of mankind, except your nation, the English; which nation at the same time comes much more within the definition; being actually an enemy to, and at war with, one whole quarter of the world: America, considerable part of Asia and Africa, a great part of Europe, and in a fair way of being at war with the rest.

A pirate makes war for the sake of *rapine*. This is not the kind of war I am engaged in against England. Ours is a war in defence of *liberty*—the most just of all wars; and of our *properties*, which your nation would have taken from us, without our consent, in violation of our rights, and by an armed force. Yours, therefore, is a war of *rapine*; of course, a piratical war: and those who approve of it, and are engaged in it, more justly deserve the name of *pirates*, which you bestow on me. It is, indeed, a war that coincides with the general spirit of your nation. Your common people in their ale-houses sing the twenty-four songs of Robin Hood, and applaud his deer-stealing and his robberies on the highway: those who have just learning enough to read, are delighted with your histories of the pirates

¹ British Museum. Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Benjamin Franklin. Printed for Henry Colburn. London. 1818. Vol. I, page 341.

and of the buccaniers: and even your scholars in the universities, study Quintus Curtius; and are taught to admire Alexander, for what they call "his conquests in the Indies." Severe laws and the hangman keep down the effects of this spirit somewhat among yourselves, (though in your little island you have, nevertheless, more highway robberies than there are in all the rest of Europe put together): but a foreign war gives it full scope. It is then that, with infinite pleasure, it lets itself loose to strip of their property honest merchants, employed in the innocent and useful occupation of supplying the mutual wants of mankind. Hence, having lately no war with your ancient enemies, rather than be without a war, you chose to make one upon your friends. In this your piratical war with America, the mariners of your fleets and the owners of your privateers were animated against us by the act of your parliament, which repealed the law of God—"Thou shalt not steal,"—by declaring it lawful for them to rob us of all our property that they could meet with on the ocean. This act too had a retrospect, and, going beyond bulls of pardon, declared that all the robberies you *had committed*, previous to the act, should be *deemed just and lawful*. Your soldiers too were promised the plunder of our cities: and your officers were flattered with the division of our lands. You had even the baseness to corrupt our servants, the sailors employed by us, and encourage them to rob their masters, and bring to you the ships and goods they were entrusted with. Is there any society of pirates on the sea or land, who, in declaring wrong to be right, and right wrong, have less authority than your parliament? Do any of them more justly than your parliament deserve the *title* you bestow on me?

You will tell me that we forfeited all our estates by our refusal to pay the taxes your nation would have imposed on us, without the consent of our colony parliaments. Have you then forgotten the incontestable principle, which was the foundation of Hampden's glorious lawsuit with Charles the First, that "what an English king has no right to demand, an English subject has a right to refuse"? But you cannot so soon have forgotten the instructions of your late honorable father, who, being himself a sound Whig, taught you certainly the principles of the Revolution, and that, "if subjects might in some cases forfeit their property, kings also might forfeit their title, and all claim to the allegiance of their subjects." I must then suppose you well acquainted with those Whig principles, on which permit me, Sir, to ask a few questions.

Is not protection as justly due from a king to his people, as obedience from the people to their king?

If then a king declares his people to be out of his protection:

If he violates and deprives them of their constitutional rights:

If he wages war against them:

If he plunders their merchants, ravages their coasts, burns their towns, and destroys their lives:

If he hires foreign mercenaries to help him in their destruction:

If he engages savages to murder their defenceless farmers, women and children:

If he cruelly forces such of his subjects as fall into his hands, to bear arms against their country, and become executioners of their friends and brethren:

If he sells others of them into bondage, in Africa and East Indies:

If he excites domestic insurrections among their servants, and encourages servants to murder their masters:—

Does not so atrocious a conduct towards his subjects, dissolve their allegiance?

If not,—please to say how or by what means it can possibly be dissolved?

All this horrible wickedness & barbarity has been and daily is practised by the *your master* (as you call him in your memorial) upon the Americans, whom he is still pleased to claim as his subjects.

During these six years past, he has destroyed not less than forty thousand of those subjects, by battles on land or sea, or by starving them, or poisoning them to death, in the unwholesome air, with the unwholesome food of his prisons. And he has wasted the lives of at least an equal number of his own soldiers & sailors: many of whom have been *forced* into this odious service, and *dragged* from their families & friends, by the outrageous violence of his illegal press-gangs. You are a gentleman of letters, and have read history; do you recollect any instance of any tyrant, since the beginning of the world, who, in the course of so few years, had done so much mischief, by ? Let us view one of the worst & blackest of them, *Nero*. He put to death a few of his courtiers, placemen, and pensioners, and among the rest his *tutor*. Had done the same, and no more, his crime, though detestable, as an act of lawless power, might have been as useful to his nation, as that of *Nero* was hurtful to Rome; considering the different characters & merits of the sufferers. *Nero* indeed

wished that the people of Rome had but one neck, that he might behead them all by one stroke: but this was a simple wish is carrying the wish as fast as he can into execution; and by continuing in his present course a few years longer, will have destroyed more of the people than Nero could have found inhabitants in Rome. Hence, the expression of Milton, in speaking of Charles the First, that he was "*Nerone Neronior*" is still more applicable to Like Nero and all other tyrants, while they lived, he indeed has his flatterers, his addressers, his applauders. Pensions, places, and hopes of preferment, can bribe even bishops to approve his conduct: but, when those fulsome, purchased addresses and panegyrics are sunk & lost in oblivion or contempt, impartial history will step forth, speak honest truth, and rank him among public calamities. The only difference will be, that plagues, pestilences & famines are of this world, and arise from the nature of things: but voluntary malice, mischief and murder, are from hell: and this will, therefore, stand foremost in the list of diabolical, bloody, and execrable tyrants. His base-bought parliaments too, who sell him their souls, and extort from the people the money with which they aid his destructive purposes, as they share his guilt, will share his infamy,—parliaments, who to please him, have repeatedly, by different votes year after year, dipped their hands in human blood, insomuch that methinks I see it dried and caked so thick upon them, that if they could wash it off in the Thames which flows under their windows, the whole river would run red to the ocean.

One is provoked by enormous wickedness; but one is ashamed & humiliated at the view of human baseness. It afflicts me, therefore, to see a gentleman of education & talents, for the sake of a red riband and a paltry stipend, mean enough to style such a *his master*, wear his livery, and hold himself ready at his command even to cut the throats of fellow-subjects. This makes it impossible for me to end my letter with the civility of a compliment, and obliges me to subscribe myself simply,

JOHN PAUL JONES,
whom you are pleased to stile a pirate

APPENDIX G

CERTIFICATE OF A NUMBER OF OFFICERS RESPECTING THE CONDUCT OF CAPT LANDAIS.

We the Officers & & of the American Squadron now at the Texel this 30th, Day of Octob^r 1779. do Attest and declare on our Words of honor as Gentlemen; that all the following Articles which We Subscribe respecting the Conduct of Peter Landais Captain of the Frigate *Alliance*, are really and truly matters of fact in Witness whereof We hereunto Sign our Names and Qualities; and will at any time hereafter be ready to prove the same upon Oath if required.—

1.—The Captain of the *Alliance* did not take the Steps in his power to prevent his Ship from getting foul of the *Bon Homme Richard* in the Bay of Biscay; for instead of putting his helm a Weather and bearing up to make way for his Commanding Officer (Which was his Duty) he left the Deck to Load his Pistols—

2.—When in chase of a Ship (Supposed an English East india-man) on the day of August 1779. Captain Landais did not do his utmost to overtake that Ship which he might easily have done before night; but put his helm a Weather and bore away several times in the day after the *Alliance* had gained the Wake of the Chase and was overtaking her very fast.

3.—Captain Landais behaved with disrespect and impertinence toward the Commander in Chief of the Squadron on frequent occasions—

4—He disobeyed his Signals

5—He very Seldom answered any of them.

6—He expressed his fears and apprehensions of being taken on the Coast of Ireland, and insisted in leaving sight of it immediately when We had Cruized there only two Days—

7.—His Separation from the Squadron the first time must have happened either thro' Ignorance or design, because tho' he distinctly saw the Signal for the Course before night, Yet he

Altered it first two and then four points of the Compass before morning—

8.—His Separation from the Squadron the Second time must also have happened thro' Ignorance or Design, because the Wind being at N. W. and the other Ships to *his Knowledge* laying too and being a Stern of the *Alliance* what less than a Separation could be the Consequence of his obstinacy in Ordering the Weather main brace to be hauled in and the Ship to be Steered S. W. and S. W. by S. in the trough of the Sea; which was done from ten at night 'till morning: and he would not then permit the Ship to be tacked in Order to rejoin the Squadron as was proposed to him by the Officers—

9.—On the morning of the 23^d September when the *Bon Homme Richard* after being off the Spurn came in sight of the *Alliance* and *Pallas* off Flamborough head, Captain Landais distinctly told Captain Cottineau, that if it Was as it appeared a fifty Gun Ship; they must run away: altho' he must have been sure that the *Pallas* from her heavy Sailing must have fallen a Sacrifice.—

10—In the afternoon of the same day, Captain Landais paid no Attention to Signals, particularly the Signal of preparation and for the Line which was made with Great Care and very distinctly on board the *Bon Homme Richard*—

11—Altho' the *Alliance* was a Long way ahead of the *Bon Homme Richard* when bearing down on the Baltic fleet, yet Captain Landais lay out of Gun Shott to Windward, until the *Bon Homme Richard* had passed by and Closely engaged the *Serapis*, and then instead of Coming to Close Action with the *Countess of Scarborough* the *Alliance* fired at very long Shott.

12—He Continued to Windward and a Considerable time after the Action began, fell a Stern and Spoke the *Pallas*; leaving the *Countess of Scarborough* in the Wake of the Ships engaged and at free Liberty to rake the *Bon H. Richard*.

13—After the *Bon Homme Richard* & *Serapis* were made fast along side of each other, as in the Margin (which was not done till an hour after the Engagement began) Captain Landais out of *Musket Shott* Raked the *Bon Homme Richard* with Cross bar and grape Shott & which Killed a number of men, dismounted Sundry Guns, put out the side Lights, and Silenced All the 12 pounders.

14—The *Alliance* then ran down towards the *Pallas* and *Countess of Scarborough* that were at the time engaged at a Considerable distance to Leeward of the *Bon Homme Richard* and

Serapis, and Captain Landais hovered about there out of Gun Shott and without firing 'till some time after the *Countess of Scarborough* had Struck, and then bore down under his topsails and spoke first the prize and then the *Pallas* asking a Number of Questions—

15—At last Captain Landais made Sail under his topsails to Work up to Windward, but made tacks before he (being within the range of Grape Shott and *at the Longest* three quarters of an hour before the *Serapis* Struck) fired a Second broad Side into the *Bon Homme Richard's* Larboard Quarter, the Latter part whereof was fired when the *Alliance* was not more than three points abaft the *Bon Homme Richard's* beam, altho' many tongues had Cry'd from the *Bon H. Richard* that Captain Landais was firing into the wrong Ship and pray'd him to lay the Enemy along side, three large Signal Lanthorns with proper Signal Wax candles in them and well lighted had also previously to his firing been hung over the bow, Quarter & Waist of the *Bon H. Richard* in a horizontal Line w^{ch} Was the Signal of reconnoissance, and the Ships the One having a high Poop and being all all black the other having a low Stern with Yellow Sides Were Easily distinguishable it being full moon.

16—The *Alliance* then passed at a very Considerable distance along the Larboard or off side of the *Bon H. Richard* and having tacked and gained the Wind ran down again to Leward, and in Crossing the *Bon H. Richard's* bow Captain Landais Raked her with a third broad side after being Constantly Called to from the *Bon H. Richard* not to fire, but to lay the Enemy along Side—

17—Sundry men were Killed and Wounded by the broadsides mentioned in the two last Articles—

18—Captain Landais never passed on the off side of the *Serapis* nor could that Ship ever bring a Gun to bear on the *Alliance* at any time during the Engagement—

19—The Leaks of the *Bon H. Richard* increased much after being fired upon by the *Alliance*; and as the most dangerous Shott which the *Bon H. Richard* received under Water was under the Larboard bow and Quarter they must have Come from the *Alliance*, for the *Serapis* was on the other Side—

20. Several people on board the *Alliance* told Captⁿ Landais at different times, that he fired upon the Wrong Ship others refused to fire.

21. The *Alliance* only fired three broadsides while within Gun Shott of the *Bon H. Richard* & *Serapis*.

22 The Morning after the Engagement Captain Landais acknowledged on board the *Serapis* that he raked each time with grape Shott which he knew would Scatter—

23—Captain Landais has acknowledged since the Action that he would have thought it no harm if the *Bon H. Richard* had Struck for it would have given him an Opportunity to retake her and to take the *Serapis*—

24—He has frequently declared that he was the only American in the Squadron, and that he was not under the Orders of Captain Jones.—

25. In Coming into the Texel, he declared that if Captain Jones should hoist a broad pendant he would to *Vex him* hoist another—

I attest the Articles Number 2. 4. 5. 10. 11. 15. 16. and 22 to be matters of fact and I believe all the Rest

ROBERT CORAM Midshipman of
the late Ship the *Bon H. Richard*

I Attest the Articles number, 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 10. 11. 13. 15. 16. 17. 19. 21. & 22. to be matters of fact and I believe all the rest

J. W. LINTHWATE Midshipman of the late Ship the
Bon Homme Rich^d.

I Attest the Articles number 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 10. 11. 13. 15. 16. 17. 19. 21. & 22 to be matters of fact and I believe all the Rest—

JOHN MAYRANT Midshipman of the late Ship the
Bon H Richard

I Attest the Articles number 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 10. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 22. 23. and 24. to be matters of fact, and I believe all the rest

LT COLO. WUBERT American Engineer and
Commanding Officer of the Volunteers
on board the *Serapis*, late of the *Bon
Homme Richard*—

I Attest the Articles number 2. 3. & 11. to be matters of fact and I believe all the Rest

BENJA. STUBBS Midshipman of the late Ship
Bon H Richard

I Attest the Articles number 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 10. 11. 13. 15. 16. & 17. to be matters of fact and I believe all the Rest

THOMAS POTTER Midshipman of the late Ship
of War the *B H. Richard*

I Attest the Articles Number 2. 3. 4. 5. 10. 11. 13. 15. & 19.
to be matters of fact and I believe all the Rest

NATHL. FANNING Midshipman of the late Ship
the *Bon Homme Richard*

I Attest the Articles 3. 4. 5. 10. 11. 13. 15. 16. 17. 19. & 21.
to be matters of fact and I believe all the Rest

THOS. LUNDY Midshipman of the late Ship *Bon
H. Richard*

I Attest the Articles number 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 10. 11. 13. 15. 16. &
17. to be matters of fact and I believe all the Rest

BEAUMONT GROUBE Midⁿ. of the late Ship *Bon
H. Richard*

We Attest the Articles number 2. 3. 4. 5. 7. 8. 11. 12. 18. 20. &
21. to be matters of fact

NB. The <i>Alliance</i> never passed on the offside of the <i>Serapis</i> —	}	Alliance	{	JAMES DEGGE Lt. JOHN BUCKLEY Master JOHN LARCHAR Mast ^r Mate
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I Attest the Articles number 2. 3. 4. 5. 10. 11. 15. 16. 17. 18. &
23 to be matters of fact

STACK Lt. of Walsh's Regt. & officer of
Volunteers, on board the *Bon H Richard* by
Congé from Court

I Attest the Articles 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 10. 11. 13. 15. 19. 23. and 24
to be matters of fact

MACARTHY Off^r. of Walsh's Regiment & Lieut of
Volunteers on board the *B. H. Rich^d*.

J'atteste les Articles n. 12, 14 et 24. quant à l'article 4,
j'ai connoissance qu'il a refusé d'obéir aux Signaux de
Serendre a bord du *bon homme Richard*, et relative-
ment à l'article 9. Je me rappelle qu'il me dit, Si c'est
un Vaisseau au dessus de 50 Cannons, nous n'avons
plus que le parti de la fuite.

Signe D COOTINEAU DE KLOGUENE
Cap^e. de la *Pallas*—

I Attest the Articles number 2. 5. 11. 12. 20 & 22. to be matters
of fact

M PARKE. Captⁿ of Marines on board the American
Frigate *Alliance*

I Attest the Articles 2. 3. 4. 5. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. and 21. to be matters of fact

RICHARD DALE Lieut of the late Ship of War the
B. H. Richard—

I Attest the Articles number 2. 3. 4. 5. 11. 14. & 22. to be matters of fact

HENRY LUNT Lieut of the late Ship the *Bon Homme*
Richard—

I Attest the Articles Number 2. 3. 4. 5. 10. 11. 13. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. & 21. to be matters of fact

SAMUEL STACY Master of the late Ship the *Bon H.*
Richard—

APPENDIX H

BARRY'S SUMMING UP OF THE EVIDENCE AT LANDAIS'S COURT-MARTIAL

MSS. Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C. The Papers of the Continental Congress. Vol. II, 193. Original page 129.

GENTLEMEN. You have labor'd in this tedious & intricate Case, with all the patience and attention which honor & humanity could dictate. It would be impardonable (*sic*) in me still further to lengthen the trial by needless harrangue (*sic*)—I shall therefore go immediately to the points before you and upon them be as concise as Justice will let me.

And the first before you is—Whether Captain Landais came away with the ship *Alliance* from France contrary to the orders of the Navy Board at Boston or, which will conclude in the same thing, without the knowledge or permission of Dr Franklin, the American minister in France. And I think, gentlemen, that the Captain came away as aforesaid. We find the following clause in the orders of said Navy Board directed to Cap: Landais & dated Boston Decr 1778 viz: On your arrival in France, you are to Send forward the letter herewith delivered you, to the honble Benjamin Franklin &c, and inform him of your arrival *whose orders you are then to obey*. A principal method of interpreting an order or direction from a superior power, is to collect the intention of originating that order or direction. In pursuance of this idea, I have, more than once, waited upon said Navy-Board and have found that their intention in said orders to Cap Landais—was—that upon reaching France, and from that time until he should leave France, he should be under the orders, particularly the sailing orders of Dr Franklin to go and to tarry with the ship where the Dr should direct. I have also found that this same construction was communicated to the Cap: together with said orders from the Navy Board. Cap Landais in his defence pretends that, when at L'Orient, he received orders of Congress to come to Philadelphia; in which

case the orders of the Navy Board would have been superseded. But Such was not the case; At least Cap Landais has not proved it. Dr Franklin would have been the medium, thro' which those orders of Congress would (*page* 130) have come to Cap Landais. But we do not find the Doctor (*sic*) forwarding any such orders to the Cap: but rather prohibitions which involve a contrary appearance. Cap Landais relies wholly upon the copy of a private letter from Mr Brown of Philadelphia, to prove that he had orders from Congress to leave France. But that Letter (if it is genuine) only *suggests* that orders had gone for the *Alliance* to come to Philadelphia. Has Cap: Landais shewn these orders—has he ever received them? What Mr Brown says by the bye, in his private capacity, is nothing to the purpose—if Dr Franklin received those orders of Congress to be communicated to the Commander of the *Alliance* (I would speak with modesty) it may be the Dr's Fault that he never communicated them: but, 'till *he* or some other official authority communicated them, Cap Landais had no right to suppose such orders existing; & he came away from France without the permission of him, whose permission & direction, by the orders of said Navy Board, he was bound to wait & obey. Whether Dr Franklin took the *Alliance* from Cap Landais without a Court-Martial &c—is not before the Court; but whether Cap Landais, being Commander of the *Alliance*, de facto, came away without permission &c—Which the Cap: certainly did, as I conceive, & has brot no kind of proof to the contrary.

The 2d point that comes before the Court is whether Captain Landais permitted goods private property to be brot' in the ship to America. That he at least *connived* at it, which in effect is permission, cannot be doubted, unless Mr Blodget's evidence upon that article be wholly thrown aside, which cannot be done, a considerable part of Mr Blodget's evidence upon that article being frequently relied upon by the Court. And it is a rule that you shall not disjoint what a witness saith of himself, but shall admit the whole, *what is for*, as well as what is against him. So far from Cap Landais exerting a vigilance to detect any contraband property, that when Mr Blodget was open enough to let him know he intended to bring such property—Cap Landais expressed that he did not want to know it. That such property was in fact brot' Mr Blodget has evinced, who *so far*, witnesseth against himself and therefore demands your strongest belief. I need not illustrate upon the well known evil consequences of that practice—the idea of Congress upon it is apparent enough.

The third Consideration before the Court is respecting Cap Landais' abdicating the Command—his not doing his utmost to quell the disorders of his ship, & in general of his conduct during the passage.

That the Captain abdicated the command, limited (*sic*) by speaking, can not be supposed. It is at the same time as hard to suppose, if we believe One quarter part of what one quarter of the witnesses say, that he discovered a blameless conduct. That some on board, whether officers, passengers or crew, were disaffected & created uneasiness is probable enough & they ought at some other time to be taken notice of. But that there should be a coincidence of all the passengers, all his officers and all his crew against him for no reason or interest is a phenomenon: That every action of theirs to him should be diabolic and every action of his to them, divine, is another; and to believe such things requires a great share of credulity. The witnesses all say that he quitted the command of the ship at the time of her greatest disorder and at the moment of mutiny, notwithstanding the repeated importunities of the passengers and officers begging him to take care of the ship. In order to disprove this, the Cap mentions of his being on deck, taking the sun & other actions of equal importance, at certain times after the period when it is said he left the Command. I believe that some, perhaps many of the witnesses labor under a prejudice in deposing that the Captain abdicated the command: but, on the other hand, why had he not more proofs than his barely going upon deck &c of his exertions? And why does he depend upon the memorable action of wishing to speak to the crew five by five, for a proof of his endeavors to quell the mutiny? It may be urged again that all were against him and that he had not the confidence of his officers. But is this to his credit? Which is the most probable that such a number of various characters should without motive conspire to ruin their commander, or that a Commander should have some weak part, some alloy in his constitution & by his behavior create enemies? "There are no superfluous sentiments in the heart of man" and people do not act without motives. Capt Landais has been ill treated, but must he therefore ill treat the Continent? As to the Captain's reproving his officers before his crew, (*it*) is a matter more within your reflection than mine; and when he directed the Quarter master to teach one of his officers how to set the Driver, the object of his sarcasm may, for ought I know, have deserved the severity; but there are certain methods which Prudence may

use in such cases, which leave no sting behind. And had such methods as I allude to, been more frequently taken by the Captain, I believe that instead of the many questions now before the court, which look like the ripping up of an old family quarrel—the only point would have been whether the ship came without orders from France.

Some men would have laugh'd away the affair of the pigs and the water & I know not what before they had grown into contest: and I shall not mention upon them, only that such disputes serve as clues to greater.

I should rank with these last the affair of the Fish; but it seems to deserve something more particular as it comes directly within a Resolve of Congress—It would not have been an unpardonable condescension (*sic*) in the captain to let his officers and crew catch a few dozens of fish, when there could be no kind of inconvenience accruing, but on the other hand a gratification (at no expence of the captain) to a ships company who had been long upon salt provisions & perhaps dreamt of fishing ten days before they reach'd the banks. The doctors motive in his memorial to the Captain, was, I confess, curious, viz that fish would (*not?*) be good for the putrid diseases on board—and I expected the captain would have given this as a reason for his permitting no fish to be taken—but it seems his only reason was, *that he might get sooner to America.* The meaning of which is, in my opinion, to get half an hour sooner to America—to put the Ship in an uproar and to disobey a resolve of Congress. For all this was the consequence. I have under this third head unavoidably run into another viz upon Cap Landais general conduct to his passengers officers and crew—The captain says that he has treated them as well as circumstances would allow. You gentlemen will judge of that: you will judge whether the expressions of the captain's temper have served to heal or to irritate the disapointments (*sic*) of his officers and crew—whether his conduct has abated or inflamed Sedition.

The next question before the Court is whether the Cap refused to deliver the ship *Alliance*, her cabin & furniture to John Barry Esqr when appointed to the command of said ship by the honorable board of Admiralty.

The Captains defence upon this article appears quite inadequate—He says he told the Navy Board they might take the command of the Ship when they pleased and even his bed—but requested to abide in one of the State Rooms, which he insinuates was the only manner of his not delivering the Ship.

The Navy Board granted this favor or they did not. If they granted it, the Captain would have mention'd it, and the charge in that particular would have been groundless. If the Navy Board did not grant the favor, then the Cap remained in the Ship after he was orderd to deliver her up. That the Navy Board cou'd not with propriety have granted this favor, (however they might think it humane to maintain him elsewhere) is very evident. It would have been impolicy to have sufferd Cap Landais to remain on board after the command was taken from him & given to his successor. The Board expected to see the *Alliance* once more in peace and that the new commander would be at least more popular than the old. But for Cap Barry to notice his officers & introduce them to his company & cabin where at the same time they would meet the eyes of their old adversary (no matter how he came so) this, I say, would have ensurd discontent to say the least.

Cap Landais speaks to the passions upon this head & my own were touch'd before I recollected the impolicy of granting the favor he asked. We have calld it a favor, but it appears too much like asking a favor with a pistol at one's breast, for the Cap took it at all events: He betook himself to the ship and declared he would never leave her without being forced from her by a file of marines. I do not fully understand the Cap's defence upon his keeping to himself the cabin furniture—but I *think* he suggests that because a certain Mr Mace carried away a chest his (the cap's property) with certain linnen in it, for that reason he, the Cap, has taken to himself certain of the cabin linnen, which belongs to the Continent, to satisfy the injury done him by Mr Mace—which would have done very well before society commend. (evidently "commenced").

Another point before the Court is, the Captain's refusing to read a letter from the honble Navy Board & obliging said Board to cause him to be turn'd out of their office. As to the Captain's refusing to read the letter, I think we must exculpate him if we allow the least force to the human passions. To be obliged to receive it from Cap Park of all men in the world, an officer whom the Cap could never stomach—with whom he had the first quarrel that happend on board & with whom he was now like to have the last—I say for Cap Park to serve the death warrent, as it were, upon the unfortunate cap Landais is a circumstance which must excuse, if not justify: The Cap says he did not believe the letter came from the Board & I have charity that that was the cap's belief.

Cap Landais insisting upon living in the Office of the Navy Board amongst the public papers & his dissatisfaction at being forbid, however varnish'd with an address to humanity, was most absurd. He speaks in high terms of their refusing such an act of kindness and that he only wanted the floor to sleep upon. A man in Cap Landais' circumstances insisting upon such a romance, looks too much like courting persecution.

If Cap: Landais had recourse to the Navy Board, when destitute, why did he not repair to them when he first came to the harbor, at that time, as he suggests, not bless'd with a friend on board—why did he wait until he was almost forced, before he waited upon them with the sad tale of his woes—The Board were certainly the power to whom (*he*) ought to have applied—.

(The Judge Advocate then (reviewed) (*corner of document here torn off*) some of the most material evidence, and the Court after a due deliberation came to the following resolution:

At a court martial assembled on board the *Alliance* in Boston harbour on the 20th day of November 1780 pursuant to a warrant from the honble Navy Board, Eastern department directed to John Barry Esqr captain and commander in the Navy of the United States and continued by several adjournments to the sixth day of Jany 1781 to enquire into the conduct of Peter Landais Esqr

Present

	John Barry Esqr President	Lieut. Silas Devot
Captains	Hoystead Hacker Esq	Lieut. Patrick Fletcher
	Saml Nicholson Esq	Lieut Nicholas Gardner
and of the marines	Lieut Samuel Pritchard.	

Thomas Dawes Junr. Judge Advocate.

The Court, having collected all the admissible evidence in their power touching the conduct of Peter Landais Esq late commander of the *Alliance*, during her late voyage from L'Orient to Boston, immediately previous to her sailing and since her arrival at Boston are of unanimous opinion; that said Peter Landais Esq is guilty of a breach of the orders of Congress, and of the orders of the honble Navy Board Eastern department dated Boston Decr 1778 and to said Landais directed, in coming away with the ship *Alliance* from France without the permission of Dr Franklin the American minister there: but that said Peter Landais Esqr in coming away without leave as aforesaid, took the advice of the honble Arthur Lee Esq, a gentleman learn'd in the Laws and high in Office, and so far is intitled to favor:

which advice, together with the motives that urged it, will appear by copies of certain Letters from said honble Arthur Lee Esq and transmitted herewith.

2ndly That said Peter Landais Esq is guilty of a further breach of the orders of Congress & of said Navy-Board in suffering certain private goods to be brot' in said ship from France and by that means creating an interest on board said ship repugnant to the public service.

3dly That said Peter Landais Esq is guilty of a breach of the first and thirty seventh articles in the rules for the regulation of the Navy of the United States, in not exerting his utmost abilities to inspect the behavior of the passengers, of his officers and crew, to detect and bring to punishment offenders on board And in not setting an example to his officers in discharging their duties.

4thly That said Peter Landais Esq is guilty of a breach of the orders of said Navy Board, in not delivering up the ship *Alliance*, her cabin & cabin furniture when by said Board orderd to deliver them up; but said Court, taking into consideration the peculiar circumstance of Cap: Landais, that he was then without credit or money in this Country, that he had no comfortable resort but to said ship, recommend said Landais to indulgence Said Court, conceiving it to be their duty to do so, beg leave further to report that Cap: Landais has, nevertheless, greatly suffered from a mutinous disposition in both passengers & officers and from a real mutiny in the crew of said ship.

The Sentence

The Court Martial adjudge the said Peter Landais Esq to be broke and renderd incapable of serving in the American Navy, for the future.

JOHN BARRY *Prest*

After which the Court was disolvd

J. DAWES J. A

APPENDIX I

CERTIFICATE OF MESSRS. VAN BERCKEL AND DUMAS

(FROM CONTEMPORARY COPY IN THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS)

Attestation de M. Van Berckel, Grand Pensionnaire d'Amsterdam, et de M. Dumas, Agent des Etats-Unis en Hollande.

Le Commandeur Paul Jones, Commandant une Escadre legere équipée aux frais de sa Maj. Tr. Chrétienne, sous Pavillon et commission des Etas-Unis d'Amerique, fit voile de France le 14^e Août, 1779 dans le tems environ que la grande Flotte combinée de France et d'Espagne de 66 vaisseaux de ligne sous le Commandement de S. E. le Comte d'Orvilliers, parut dans le canal entre la France et l'Angleterre. Comme on s'attendoit qu'une armée François sous la protection de cette Flotte feroit une descente à la Côte méridionale de l'Angleterre, le Commandeur, ayant Carte Blanche, crut de son devoir de faire une forte diversion pour faciliter l'entreprise. Pour cet effet, il allarma et insulta lets Ports de l'Ennemi depuis le cap Clear, le long de la côte occidentale de l'Irlande par le nord de l'Ecosse jusqu'à Hull à l'Est del'Angleterre. Dans le cours de ce service, aussi difficile qu'important, il fit plusieurs captures armées en guerre et détruisit nombre de Vaisseaux Marchands de l'Ennemi. Le grand désir du Commandeur étoit d'intercepter la Flotte Britannique revenant de la Baltique, et par là priver l'Ennemi des moyens d'équiper leurs Vaisseaux de Guerre. Il y a tout lieu de croire qu'il eût complètement effectué ce projet, s'il n'avoit été abandonné Sur la côte d'Irlande, par une partie considerable de ses forces, et si sa Frégate le *Bon-homme Richard* avoit été le moins du monde secondée dans son mémorable Combat contre le *Serapis*, Vaisseau à deux ponts, et contre la *Comtesse de Scarborough*, Frégate. Mais après que le Commandeur eut seul combattu ces deux Vaisseaux pendant une heure à la distance du pistolet,

tandis que le reste de ses forces se tenoit à l'abri des coups, malgré l'avantage du vent, l'*Alliance* Frégate Américaine vint lâcher traitreusement trois bordées de mitraille sur le *Bonhomme Richard*. Durant toute l'affaire, l'*Alliance* eut soin de ne pas s'exposer à recevoir un seul coup ni à avoir un seul homme de tué ou blessé à son bord. Le *Bonhomme Richard* fut pendant trois heures accroché au *Serapis*, et après le Combat, qui dura quatre heures, coula bas, criblé de coups comme jamais vaisseau ne l'avoit été jusque-là. Le combat se donnant à une lieue de navigation de *Scarborough*, il ne fut pas possible dans les circonstances ci-dessus mentionnées, d'empêcher l'entrée de ce Port au Convoi Ennemi, qui s'y mit en sureté. Le Commandeur entra au Texel avec le résidu de son Escadre et ses deux dernières prises le 3 Octobre 1779. La moitié des Equipages tant du *Bonhomme Richard* que du *Serapis*, ayant été tuée ou blessée, le Commandeur s'adressa à Leurs Hautes Puissances pour la permission d'établir un hopital au Helder, afin d'y pouvoir guerir les blessés: mais la magistrature du lieu s'y opposant, leurs Hautes Puissances assignerent à cet effet le Fort du Texel; et comme le Commandeur eut la permission de garnisonner ce Fort par un Détachement de ses soldats, il expédia la Commission, pour autant de tems que de raison, de Commandant de la Place à l'un de ses officiers. La Flotte combinée étant rentrée à Brest, les Anglois revenus de la terreur d'une invasion dont ils s'étoient vus menacés, firent éclater toute leur animosité contre le Commodore. L'Ambassadeur d'Angleterre à la Haye, par des Mémoires reiterés aux Etats-Généraux, ne cessa de réclamer peremptoirement la restitution du Vaisseau de Guerre et de la Frégate pris par le Commandeur et d'exiger en outre que *Pirate Paul Jones* Ecossois fût livré au Roi son Maitre. Cette demarche de l'Ambassadeur ne lui réussissant pas, il fit tout ce qu'il put auprès des Magistrats et Particuliers d'Amsterdam, pour qu'on mit la main sur la personne du Commodore et qu'on le lui livrât; mais en vain: personne n'eut la bassesse ou la hardiesse de se prêter à ses désirs à cet égard.—Les Anglois détachèrent plusieurs Escadres légères pour intercepter le Commandeur. Deux de ces Escadres croisoient continuellement à la vuë du Texel et du Vlie; tandis que d'autres étoient stationnées de manière à leur faire croire qu'il étoit impossible qu'il pût leur échapper. L'objet de la Cour de France en faisant entrer le Commandeur au Texel, étoit qu'il escortât de là à Brest une nombreuse Flotte chargée de matériaux pour l'arsenal de ce Port; mais sa position rendit ce service impracticable,

surtout dès que le ministre n'eut pas soin de tenir la chose secrète.—La situation du Commandeur au Texel fixoit déjà l'attention de toute l'Europe, et affectoit profondement la politique des Puissances belligérantes. Mais cette position devint infiniment plus critique lorsque le Prince d'Orange ôta le Commandement de l'Escadre Hollandoise qui étoit de 13 Vaisseaux de Guerre, à M. Riemersma, et envoya le Vice-Amiral Rhynst¹ pour lui succéder et expulser le Commandeur du Texel, à la vuë des Escadres Britanniques.—Ceci engagea la Cour de Versailles à envoyer à l'Ambassadeur de France à la Haye une Commission de sa Maj. Tr. Chr. pour le commandeur, qui l'autorisoit à arborer le Pavillon de France. Mais à cela le Commandeur n'y voulut point consentir: il avoit fait sa Déclaration en arrivant, d'officier des Etats-Unis: il n'étoit point autorisé du Congrès à accepter la Commission offerte: enfin il concevoit qu'il seroit déshonorant et désavantageux, tant pour lui-même que pour l'Amérique de changer de Pavillon, Vu surtout les circonstances.—Excepté la Frégate l'*Alliance*, tout le reste de l'Escadre du Commandeur appartenoit à Sa Maj. Tr. Chr. et l'Ambassadeur de France avoit par conséquent, le droit d'en disposer.—Le Ministre Américain à Paris envoya ordre au Commandeur de livrer tous ses Prisonniers à l'Ambassadeur de France, et pour obéir à cet ordre, le Commandeur fût réduit à lui livrer aussi le *Serapis* et La *Comtesse de Scarborough*, parceque les autres Vaisseaux ne pouvoient contenir le grand nombre des Prisonniers.—Le Commandeur continua donc de déployer le Pavillon Américain à bord de l'*Alliance*, et dès que le vent l'eût permis, le Vice-Amiral, après avoir déjà rendu le Séjour du Commandeur au Texel aussi désagréable qu'il avoit pu, l'obligea de faire voile dans cette Frégate.—Le Commandeur eut l'adresse et le bonheur d'échapper à l'avidité de l'ennemi, et les Anglois enragés de tout cela, et aussi de ce que les Etats-Généraux avoient accordé une escorte pour la Flotte qui portoit des matieres navales du Texel à Brest, déclarèrent peu après la guerre aux Pays-Bas-unis: ils se servirent même du séjour et de la Conduite du Commandeur au Texel pour en faire le premier article de leur Déclaration. Les faits qu'on vient de lire sont de notoriété publique par toute l'Europe; et mon motif en donnant ce témoignage à l'Amérique en faveur du Commandeur, procède du désir de rendre justice à Son Zèle et à sa bonne conduite, pour l'honneur et les intérêts des Etats-Unis

¹Pieter Hendrik Reynst, vice-admiral of the navy of Holland.—
COMPILER.

dans les affaires parvenues plus immédiatement que d'autres à ma connoissance. A La Haye, ce 10 Mars 1784.

(Signé) E. F. VAN BERCKEL.

Je soussigné connoissant non seulement l'exacte vérité de tout ce que dessus, mais ayant de plus dû être officiellement présent pendant près de trois mois sur l'Escadre Américaine en rade au Texel, l'atteste avec plaisir. A La Haye ce 11^e Mars 1784.

(Signé) C. W. F. DUMAS,
Agent des Etats-Unis d'Amérique.

APPENDIX J

POWER OF ATTORNEY FROM JONES'S HEIRS

Janet Taylor & All's
to
Robert Hyslop
Ex'd

KNOW ALL MEN by these presents *We Mrs. Janet Taylor or Paul* eldest Sister *German* of the Deceased, *Mr. John Paul Jones*, Citizen of the United States of America sometime Resident at Paris and spouse to *William Taylor*, Watchmaker in Dumfries, Parish and County of Dumfries, North Britain, with the special advice and consent of the said *William Taylor*, my Husband, and I, the said *William Taylor* for myself my own right and interest and as taking burden upon me for my said Spouse and we both with one consent as Administrators in Law of our Son *William Taylor* of Dumfries aforesaid, who is at present under age by a few months, and I, *Miss Janet Taylor* of Dumfries aforesaid, Daughter of the said *William Taylor* and *Mrs. Janet Taylor or Paul* Spouses AND we all with mutual consent have made, constituted and ordained and DO by these presents make, constitute and ordain and in our place and stead put and depute *Robert Hyslop Esquire*, of the City of New York, in the United States of America, Merchant, to be our true and lawful Attorney for us and in our Name and behalf to call to account and bring to a reckoning & to adjust and settle accounts with the Honorable *Robert Morris, Esquire*, of Philadelphia, in the said United States of America, who was the only Testamentary Executor of the said Deceased *Mr. John Paul Jones* named and appointed by his last Will & Settlement dated at Paris the eighteenth day of July, one thousand seven hundred and ninety two years for his intromissions & Management of the Estates real and personal, moveable and immoveable of the said Deceased *Mr. John Paul Jones* in the United States of America or elsewhere, as also with all and sundry other person or persons within the United States of America or elsewhere who is, are or shall be indebted to the Estates, Real or Personal moveable or immoveable of the said Deceased, *Mr. John Paul Jones* upon any account and by

any ways or means whatsoever or howsoever AND also with full power to our said Attorney to demand, levy for recover and receive by all lawful ways and means whatsoever of and from the said *Robert Morris, Esquire*, as Executor aforesaid and of and from every such other person or persons aforesaid and all and every other person or persons whom it doth, shall or may concern, all and every estate real and personal, moveable or immoveable, land and House rents, Capital stock in the American Funds whole interest thereof, debts, dues, sum and sums of money with the title deeds, securities and mortgages of such lands and houses and vouchers of said stock in the Funds and likewise all and singular such goods, commodities, merchandizes and effects which have been now, are and which may have become and grow due, owing, payable and belonging to the estates, Real and personal, moveable or immoveable of the said Deceased *Mr. John Paul Jones* or by virtue of any such mortgages or securities made to, or in favor of the s'd Deceased, *Mr. John Paul Jones* or to and in trust for us or either of us as his heirs and Administrators in law or upon any bond, bill, bank cheque book or open *account* of trading, dealing or upon any other *account* and by any other ways or means whatsoever or howsoever in any manner of way & upon rent or recovery of all or any part or parts of the said Estates, Real or Personal, Moveable or Immoveable Land and House Rents Capital stock in the American Funds Interest thereof debts dues sum or sums of money title deeds, securities or Mortgages of such lands and houses Vouchers of said stock goods, commodities, merchandizes & other effects aforesaid or any of their or any part thereof with power to our said Attorney to make, give and grant sufficient Acquittances and discharges for the same for us and in our name from time to time and generally to negotiate, transact, perform and accomplish all other acts, matters & things for us and in our behalf in and about the premises and in about & concerning the Estates, Real and Personal, moveable and immoveable of the s'd deceased *Mr. John Paul Jones* in the said United States of America or elsewhere as fully and freely to all intents and purposes as we or any of us could have done ourselves jointly or separately if we were personally present declaring always as it is hereby expressly provided and declared that the Acts and Deed of our said Attorney shall be valid and effectual to all intents and purposes as also declaring that our said Attorney shall be accountable as by acceptance hereof he binds and obliges himself to be accountable to us or either of us as often as required

for his Intromissions & Management in virtue hereof and shall from time to time remit and pay over to us or our order such balances as may be in his hands after deduction of all debts and other sums property vouched he may have paid on account of the said deceased *Mr. John Paul Jones*. Also the necessary expenses of his Management and a suitable remuneration for his trouble and with and under these provisions and conditions we do hereby ratify and confirm all and whatsoever our said Attorney shall in our name lawfully do or cause to be done in and concerning the premises during the continuance of this Power of Attorney which shall be removeable by us at pleasure.

IN TESTIMONY Whereof, we have hereunto set our hands and Seals at Dumfries aforesaid this twentieth day of February in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred & ninety seven and of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Third, the thirty seventh year

Gannet Taylor (S) by *Will'm Taylor* (S.) *Janet Taylor* (S)

Signed, Sealed and Delivered by the said *Mrs Janet Taylor* or *Paul William Taylor*, Senior Spouses and *Miss Janet Taylor* their Daughter at Dumfries in the Parish & County of Dumfries, North Britain the twentieth day of February, one thousand seven hundred & ninety seven (being first stamp'd conform to Act of Parliament in presence of *Tho's Goldie* Commissary of Dumfries, *R. Threshie* writer in Dumfries. To ALL and Sundry to whose knowledge these presents shall come I, *David Staig*, Esquire, Provost and Chief Magistrate of the Burgh of Dumfries that part of Great Britain called "*Scotland*" do hereby Certify and attest that on the date hereof personally came and appeared before me *Thomas Goldie* Commissary of Dumfries One of the Witnesses subscribing to the execution of the above Power of Attorney and *Robert Threshie* writer in Dumfries, the other subscribing witnesses who made Oath and Deposes severally that they were present this day and saw the above mentioned *Mrs Janet Taylor* or *Paul William Taylor* Senior and *Miss Janet Taylor* severally sign, seal, execute and as their own genuine Act & Deed deliver the power of Attorney above written and that the names *Thomas Goldie* & *Robert Threshie* set or subscribed as Witnesses thereto are of the proper hand writings of the said deponents respectively.

IN TESTIMONY, Whereof I, the said *David Staig* and the deponents have subscribed these presents and I have caused the

Common Seal of the said Burgh of Dumfries to be hereunto affixed this twentieth day of February, One thousand seven hundred & ninety seven years & of his Majestys Reign the thirty seventh.

(S.) *R. Threshie, Tho's Goldie, David Staig*, Provost
Fra's Maxwell, Clk.

—INROLLED the 25th July, 1797.—

IN TESTIMONY, that the above is a copy of the original "POWER OF ATTORNEY" as recorded in Book, POWER OF ATTORNEY, numbered 5, Pages 297, 298, 299 and 300, remaining on file in the Department of Internal Affairs of Pennsylvania, I have hereunto set my Hand and caused the Seal of said Department to be affixed, at Harrisburg, this third day of January, A. D. 1912.

[SEAL]

HENRY HOUCK,
 Secretary of Internal Affairs.

APPENDIX K

REPLICAS OF HOUDON BUST

Replicas of the bust of Paul Jones by Antoine Houdon were forwarded by Jones's directions to America. The gentlemen to whom he desired that casts might be sent were: General St. Clair and Mr. Ross, of Philadelphia; Mr. John Jay, General Irvine, Mr. Secretary Thompson, and Colonel Wadsworth, of New York; and Mr. James Madison and Colonel Carrington, of Virginia. A Copy of the same bust given to Lafayette was afterward given by him to Washington and later to the museum at Alexandria. Two of these busts have lately been discovered: one bearing the name of General Irvine was found in the Academy of Fine Arts in Philadelphia; the other in the cellar of the Academy of Design in New York.

APPENDIX L

THE FINDING OF JONES'S BODY

An attempt was made by John Henry Sherburne to discover the place of interment of the body of Paul Jones in the year 1847, and orders were issued by Congress to transport it back to America. Sherburne's researches unfortunately led him to believe that Jones had been buried in the Protestant cemetery in the rear of the Hôtel Dieu. This cemetery had been sold, and according to the statements contained in the files of the *Moniteur* all the bones had been removed to the catacombs. Mr. Sherburne therefore abandoned his search for the body and no further effort was made until General Horace Porter, while ambassador to France, determined to institute another investigation as to the place of interment. A long and careful search among the official records of Paris revealed the fact that Jones was buried in an abandoned cemetery of the Protestants called Saint Louis, situated on what was once called the street L'Hôpital Saint Louis and now called Grange aux Belles. Houses had long stood over the site of the cemetery, but after protracted negotiations the Prefect of the Seine gave orders that excavations might be made, and on February 5, 1905, the work was begun. During the course of this excavation the fact was disclosed that all the wooden coffins had disintegrated, five leaden coffins alone remaining practically intact. It being known from Colonel Blackden's letter that Paul Jones was interred in a leaden coffin, it became a comparatively simple matter to identify that of Jones. Three of the leaden coffins bore name-plates with plain inscriptions giving the names of Georges Maidison, M. E. Anglois, and Richard Hay. The fourth had no name-plate, but contained a body greatly exceeding the known stature of Jones. The fifth coffin also lacked a plate, but upon being opened re-

vealed a body in a remarkable state of preservation, the flesh absolutely intact and bearing a striking resemblance to the bust by Houdon of Paul Jones, a copy of which had been procured and placed beside the coffin for purposes of comparison and identification. The measurements of height and facial dimension were found to agree to the smallest fraction with the known height of Paul Jones, and the proportions of the head as reproduced by Houdon. The autopsy performed one hundred and thirteen years after the death of Paul Jones by Professor Cornil, of the School of Anthropology in Paris, revealed traces of the lung and bronchial affections from which Jones had suffered during his lifetime, and of the interstitial nephritis culminating in dropsy which finally caused his death. The conclusions of Doctor Papillault, of the School of Anthropology, as well as those of Professors Capitan and Hervè of the same institution, were definite that the body was that of Jones. The cap which confined the hair bore the monogram P J, and a further singular and most convincing proof was found in the exact repetition of a peculiarity in the formation of one of the ears present in the corpse and in the Houdon bust.

A sketch of the face made by M. de Steurs, of the Dutch embassy in Paris, immediately after the coffin was opened, revealed a physiognomy strikingly resembling the well-known and often-recorded features of Paul Jones.

General Porter's generous donation from his private fortune defrayed the large cost of the search for the remains of Jones, and a memorial volume compiled at his suggestion by the government at Washington preserves the official report of the scientists who were engaged by General Porter to make the examination of the body. The discovery and identification having been accomplished and attested, it was delivered by Ambassador Porter to Assistant Secretary of State Loomis, and by him delivered to Rear-Admiral Sigsbee, at the American Church of the Holy Trinity in Paris, with appropriate ceremonies.

A squadron of United States vessels under the command of Rear-Admiral Sigsbee, which had been sent across the ocean for

the purpose, then sailed with the remains for America, arriving at Annapolis on July 21, 1905. On the following day the body was placed in a brick vault with religious and military ceremonies, and on April 2, 1906, commemorative ceremonies in the presence of the President of the United States, the French ambassador, and other civil and military representatives were held at Annapolis before an audience of more than twelve thousand people.

Congress having appropriated a sum for the building of a crypt in the chapel of the Naval Academy, at Annapolis, the body of the hero was at last consigned on January 26, 1913, to its final and most honorable resting-place. A national monument to Paul Jones, ordered by Congress, was erected in Potomac Park, in Washington, in the year 1912, and unveiled on April the 17th of the same year.

SOURCES OF INFORMATION

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- Decrees of the Admiralty College. Orders of Potemkin to Paul Jones.
- Note-books of Doctor Filkin. British Museum.
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- Report of British Historical Museum.
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